HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

NEWSPAPER

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Threat of New 'Viet Nams'

LBJ Ignores Memo on Soviet Arms Shipmen

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson is devoting so much of his time to the Viet Nam conflict that the development of policies for other trouble spots is being seriously delayed.

This is the growing complaint of diplomats and intelligence authorities pressing for presidential action to counter the mounting flow of Soviet arms to Algeria, Egypt, Cyprus, the Congo and Cuba.

Their memoranda, now gathering dust on the President's desk, warn of "new Viet Nams" in the Middle East, Africa and Latin America unless the United States takes immediate preventive action.

While admitting the Soviet arms problem may appear insignificant to the bloody Viet Nam struggle, these Administration experts are stressing that diplomatic and economic moves now by the President could help avert tragic U.S. military involvement later in many of these tension-ridden areas.

Illustrative of their warnings is the dangerous situation developing between Morocco and Algeria, the country chosen by the Kremlin for the biggest Red military build-up in Africa.

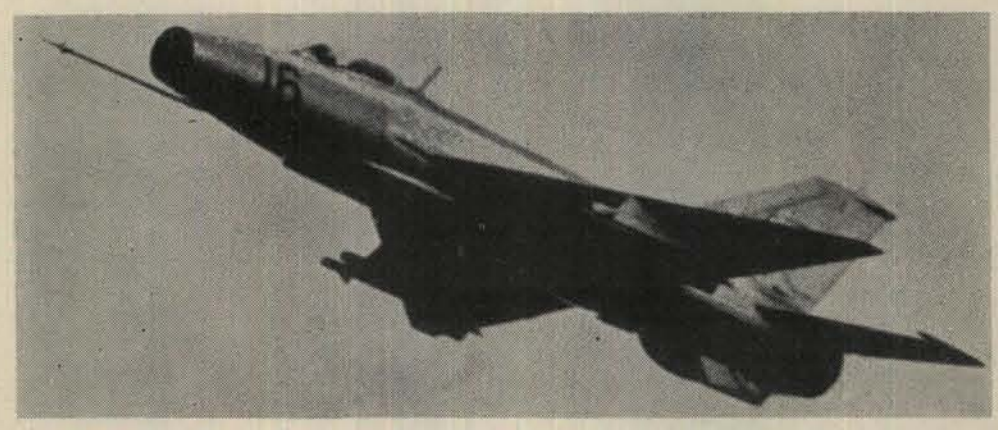
These worried intelligence-diplomatic experts estimate recent Soviet arms shipments have given the Algerians from a 6-to-1 lead to an 8-to-1 lead in military equipment over Morocco.

For example, Algeria is credited with receiving 6,000 Russian artillery pieces during the past two years—eight times more than Morocco purchased from France and the United States. With upwards of 300 modern tanks, Algeria has a lead of 6 to 1 over her pro-U.S. neighbor.

In the past two months, while everyone's attention has been focused on Viet Nam, at least 20 Soviet MIG-21s have arrived in Algeria, giving that country 80 fighters and bombers.

Morocco has transports, but no operational combat planes, although that government is now seeking to purchase a small number of fighters from the United States, with financial help from Saudi Arabia.

Eight hundred Soviet military instructors and technicians are known to be in Algeria. Moscow is training Algeria's military officers in Russia at the rate of 500 a year.



More than 20 of the crack Soviet-built MIG-21s have been sent to left-leaning Algeria, which wants to avenge its 1963 defeat by Morocco, which currently has no combat planes. The MIG-21 is considered one of the best fighters in the world today.

If this growing military imbalance isn't corrected immediately, these experts warn, Algeria will be tempted to revenge its 1963 defeat by Morocco.

Although Morocco has a highly efficient army, it is now desperately short of modern equipment comparable to what the Soviets have given the Algerians.

When fighting broke out between the two countries three years ago, the Algerian army was still basically an ill-equipped guerrilla force and was soundly beaten by the Moroccans. This would not be the case today, the experts assert. The scale of Algeria's military expansion now gives that country a commanding military edge over Morocco.

According to their recommendations to the White House, the President could defuse this explosive situation overnight by warning Algeria to halt its military build-up or the United States will stop its food shipments.

Under present foreign aid programs this country now feeds more than 25 per cent of the Algerian population, including part of its growing armed forces.

Halting these food shipments would so disrupt Algeria's faltering economy, these experts claim, that it would be impossible for her armies to fight a war.

Presidential action on this proposed economic warning to Algeria, along with plans to step up U.S. arms sales to Morocco, has been put off until after the Manila conference on Viet Nam.

Other recommendations for direct dip-

White House aides, deeply concerned about the President's growing workload, say these foreign policy decisions are not nearly as urgent as those pertaining to Viet Nam and can be put over until the President has more time and information.

Nasser's Egypt has received over 40 Soviet ground-to-air missiles.

lomatic and economic pressure on Russia to end her arms traffic to Africa and Cuba will not be considered by the President until after his upcoming Far East trip.

All these decisions also involve Russia, they point out, and the President does not want anything to upset U.S.-Soviet relations while negotiations are under way to enlist the Kremlin's help to bring North Viet Nam to the conference table.

* * *

Russia has supplied, and now practically completed, the installation of a complete air-defense system covering Egypt.

It consists of more than 40 Soviet-designed SAM-2 ground-to-air missiles, similar to those now being used in North Viet Nam against U.S. pilots and in Cuba.

Air reconnaissance photographs show that President Nasser's "missile umbrella" is designed to protect Cairo, Alexandria, the Suez Canal and Aswan, the site where the Russians are building a high dam.

More than three-fourths of the sites, each housing six missiles with their attendant complex of radar and servicing facilities, are already operational.

These sites include the Aswan dam, which the Egyptians claim would be a primary Israeli target in the event of war. Significantly, instructions have been issued by Nasser that all of the sites must be operational by December 1.

In and near Cairo, an estimated 500 Russians are training Egyptians in the operation of this ground-to-air missile system. At least 2,000 Egyptians are in Russia studying an improved version of this defense system, and how to fire intermediate-range ballistic missiles.

The present spurt in the Middle East arms race is expected to reach the boiling point if the Soviets attempt, as they did in Cuba, to set up IRBMs in Egypt. According to a recently completed CIA study, "The emergence of Soviet missile power into the Mediterranean area has implications of incalculable magnitude."

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LAST CHANCE

...to influence the voters!

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ADA and COPE Rate Congressmen

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Labor Still Cries 'Extremist'

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

• Harold Howe II, the controversial commissioner of education, may be "fired" before the election, say insiders. Howe, it is known, is losing votes for the Democrats because of his crusade to end neighborhood schools. (For more on Howe, see page 13.)

• The vigorously pro-Communist **National Guardian** plans to celebrate its 18th anniversary November 4 in New York by hearing panelists blast the United States for its participation in the war in Viet Nam. Among the guest panelists: Arthur Kinoy, recently convicted of disorderly conduct after having raised the roof at a House Committee on Un-American Activities hearing, and Felix Greene, the fellow-traveling English citizen who continues to receive favored treatment by the United States.

• Backers of Democratic Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown are concerned about a little-publicized indicator of Democratic strength in California: Los Angeles County Democratic voter registration. In past election campaigns, new Democratic voters have outnumbered new GOP voters by about 2 to 1 in the nation's most populous county. But this year the figures are running nearly even. Since the Los Angeles area is expected to decide the Reagan-Brown contest, California Democrats, already badly split to begin with, are very unhappy.

• Bobby Kennedy's New York City telephone number is 661-1600. Notes New York **Daily News** columnist Charles McHarry: "You know, of course, what's at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington."

• The ADA has endorsed Republican James G. Fulton for re-election in Pennsylvania. Fulton holds a rating of 42 per cent with ADA, has opposed right-to-work and supported a number of "Great Society" programs. Fulton's opponent, Democrat Stephen Arnold, opposes "open housing" and favors stepping up the war in Viet Nam. ADA, it turns out, is finding itself supporting more and more "Republicans" in the Keystone State, having backed Arlen Specter for district attorney of Philadelphia last year.

• Because he now hosts his own TV show, William F. Buckley Jr. has become an unwilling member of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists. Reminding AFTRA that he is a member by "compulsion," Buckley wrote in a recent letter to the union: "Since it is unlikely that I can waive my life insurance policy, would you be kind enough to name as the beneficiary the National Right-to-Work Committee. . . ."

• U.S. aid to Yugoslavia is defended by Administration officials on the grounds that it has enabled President Tito to "liberalize" his regime and steer a course "independent" of the Kremlin. The Yugoslav dictator last week demonstrated just how "liberal" he has become when he called for strengthening of the secret police and demanded new censorship of newspapers that had voiced criticism of his regime. Tito defended the new regimentation. "There are those who wish to prevent the constructive direction of development and the strengthening of the role of the League of Communists. We must not allow this. We are a revolutionary party and we are still in a revolutionary phase of our development. In such a phase we naturally have the right to apply all the necessary means to secure the correct course of our Socialist development."

• Feuding between the Agency for International Development and the Department of Defense has led to a massive shipping backlog in South Viet Nam, according to the Columbus (Ohio) **Dispatch**. The paper's Saigon correspondent, Fred S. Hoffman, reports that more than 60 freighters are waiting to be unloaded at Saigon. Other ships are being held as far away as Manila and Yokohama. Only months ago U.S. officials in Saigon maintained that the backlogs had been completely eliminated.

• Back-scratching senators have approved a multi-billion-dollar boondoggle long favored by the influential Rep. Mike Kirwan (D.-Ohio). (See **Human Events**, October 1, page 1.) The Senate last week beat down an amendment to delete funds for the Lake Erie-Ohio River canal from the $4.1-billion public works bill. The canal, which will run from western Pennsylvania through Youngstown (Kirwan's home town) north to Lake Erie, was opposed by both Pennsylvania senators and by Sen. Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio). Sen. Stephen Young (D.-Ohio) was the only senator from the two states to back the project, which Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) described as "an enormous boondoggle, a wasteful ditch and an abortion of the legislative process." Colleague Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.) noted that the "day of the barge canal is long since past" and cited figures demonstrating that the project was economically unfeasible. But the Senate okayed the project as a favor to Rep. Kirwan, all-powerful chairman of the House subcommittee on public works.

• Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) was convicted last week of willful contempt of court in refusing to pay a $160,000 libel judgment. The Harlem lawmaker, who is appealing on the grounds the New York State Supreme Court lacked jurisdiction in the case, faces five months in jail and a fine of $1,250.

• Rep. Edward Derwinski (R.-Ill.) last week accused the U.S. Information Agency of giving foreigners a distorted picture of American life. Derwinski said the USIA attempts to give the world "news, not propaganda," but actually gives foreigners a "menu composed primarily of Sen. Morse and Sen. Fulbright criticizing our Viet Nam policy plus beatniks burning their draft cards and clashing in the streets."

• The Nationalist Chinese are known to resent the fact that LBJ isn't going to visit Taiwan on his trip through Asia in October. An embassy official with the Republic of China gives this reason: "Taiwan is too anti-Communist for LBJ and he just isn't anxious to hear the 'hard line' while he's on a peace mission before the elections."

• Crotchety Sen. Stephen Young (D.-Ohio) frequently replies to angry constituents with a short letter that reads: "Dear So and So. This is to advise you that some crackpot is writing crazy letters and signing your name." A constituent recently went one up on Young, who had just finished a speaking tour in the state. "Dear Sen. Young," he wrote. "This is to advise you that some crackpot is speaking all over the state and using your name."

• Going along with the Administration's "let's build bridges to the East," the Sunday New York **Times** (October 9) published a 16-page ad promoting travel and trade with Czechoslovakia.

• A poll run by the Detroit **News** reveals that Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.) is pulling ahead of his opponent, G. Mennen ("Soapy") Williams. According to the **News**, Griffin has picked up another 2 per cent of the votes since its previous poll, now leads Williams 51 per cent to 46 per cent.

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Digging Our Own Grave

Stepping up his determination to achieve "peace" with the Communists, LBJ has launched a massive effort to appease Moscow with American trade and technology. The President, say diplomats, apparently thinks the Soviets will cease their aggression in Viet Nam if we bribe the Kosygin-Brezhnev team with enough concessions.

LIPSCOMB

To facilitate East-West trade, LBJ has revised the Commodity Control list to permit approximately 400 "non-strategic" commodities to be shipped, without special license, to the USSR and other European countries. (Among these "non-strategic" items: diesel engines, machine tools, jet engines, natural and synthetic rubber.)

The President has also signed a determination that will allow the Export-Import Bank to guarantee commercial credits to four additional European countries: Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. Because of LBJ's okay, the bank is also prepared to finance exports for a Soviet auto plant.

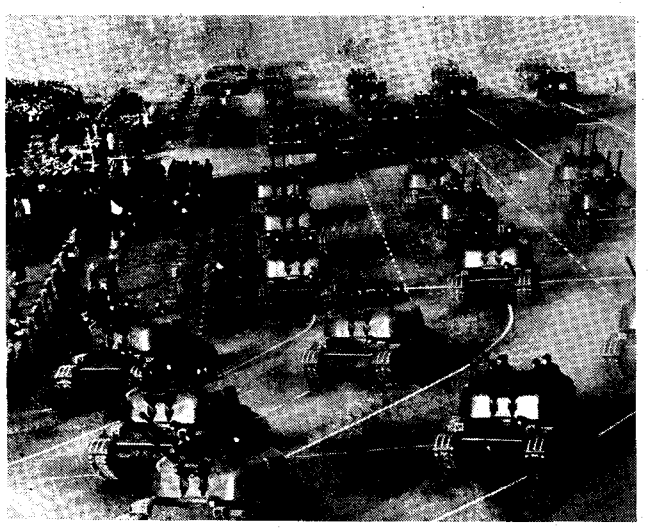
Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (R.-Calif.), an expert on Red trade, has sharply challenged LBJ's actions. The following are excerpts from a speech he is to give this week rebuking the Administration's stand:

"Mr. Speaker, does the Administration really expect that the American people should, through the use of their tax money, finance the sale of automotive manufacturing equipment shipped to Communist USSR from the United States which could be used to produce vehicles for Communist aggression such as in Viet Nam and elsewhere, now and in the future?

"That, in cold terms, is one of the incredible questions laid at the doorstep of all Americans by the President's October 7 announcement that the United States would supply the precision machinery to equip the huge automotive manufacturing plant which the Fiat Company of Italy is selling to Soviet Russia and that the Export-Import Bank would finance the sales.

"The full significance of this announcement and the even more incredible announcement that export controls on shipments to Communist countries would be greatly weakened across the board are hard to imagine. This is a matter of deepest concern to every citizen.

"There is no question that if this policy is carried out it represents a massive breakthrough for the Soviets who for years have used every method, including subterfuge and spying, to get the benefits of American technical, industrial and scientific advancements.



Russian tanks parade through Moscow's Red Square while the Administration prepares to strengthen the Soviet economy.

"The policy that has been announced represents a massive, ill-conceived concession on our part to Communist machinations and deceit that can be an immense detriment to our national security and welfare for many years to come.

"This announcement represents the culmination of a carefully plotted and laid out campaign to drum up support for opening up the floodgates on trade with the very regimes that are arming and supplying the North Vietnamese and which from a longer-range point of view are committed to the goal of extending communism over the world. . . .

"What are some of the implications of Administration policies to open up trading with the Soviets? What can be expected as a result of the new policy?

"How about this for an opener: In a recent radio dispatch from Hanoi a Soviet reporter told this to the Soviet people (Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, 1700 GMT 27 August 1966):

" 'The port of Haiphong is working at full capacity. Enormous ocean-going vessels are by the wharves. For several blocks around the port one sees on every street neat crates shining with fresh paint, trucks and cars made by Soviet and Czechoslovak works. All this cargo has come mainly from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries.'

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

"Note that this Communist reporter tells his people that cars and trucks made by the Soviets and Czechoslovakia are part of the supplies being shipped to North Viet Nam. Obviously any kind of vehicles are vitally important to the North Vietnamese war effort. . . .

"It had long been rumored that the agreement by the Fiat Automobile Company of Italy to construct a large automobile factory in the Soviet Union, which became publicly known early in May of this year, really hinged on a secret agreement by officials of the United States government that we would authorize shipment of machine tools from the United States for use in this plant. This has now been confirmed.

"But the President's announcement astoundingly not only indicates that these automotive manufacturing machines would be supplied by U.S. sources, but that financing would be done by the Export-Import Bank. His statement says:

" 'The Export-Import Bank is prepared to finance American exports for the Soviet-Italian Fiat auto plant.'

"The Oct. 1, 1966, *Forbes* magazine, which incidentally reported that the U.S. government had cleared the Fiat deal a week before the President's announcement, has some enlightening comment and information. . . .

" 'Three-quarters of the machinery that Fiat installs for the Russians will come from the U.S., either directly or indirectly through European subsidiaries and licensees of American firms. It will really be the U.S. that puts the Russians on wheels. . . .'

"Over the strong objections of the State Department the Congress in 1962 amended the Export Control Act of 1949 adding that the economic impact of proposed exports must be considered in determining whether clearance is given on requests to ship goods and data to the Communist bloc.

"It is clear, however, that in administering the act, the Administration has systematically in every way possible ignored the requirement that the economic potential of exports to the bloc must be considered.

"This has been the case in spite of the fact that it is widely known that the economic strength of a nation is the cornerstone of its over-all strength, militarily, politically and otherwise.

"This fact certainly is recognized by the Soviets. The following are excerpts from an article written by a Soviet military man which appeared in a recent edition of the *Soviet Military Review* (USSR):

" 'We have shown that military might depends on the economic potential. This implies the ability of a country, under a given economic and political system, to satisfy society's material requirements to the maximum and also produce everything necessary for war.'

"According to the Administration's 'bridge builders', there is no harm in increasing the export of commodities and data to the Communist bloc. Everything sold to the bloc is labeled as 'peaceful.'

"Rumania has been receiving special attention over the last two years and many licenses have been issued to ship advanced goods and equipment. Rumania was picked by the Administration to get special attention on the claim that it is steering a course independent of Moscow. How independent is Rumania?

"The following portion of a joint North Viet Nam-Rumanian communique dated May 12, 1966, tells the story very well:

" 'The Rumanian nation fully and resolutely upholds the just struggle of the brotherly Viet Nam nation against the aggressive American imperialism. . . .

" 'The communique declares full support of the 4 points advanced by North Viet Nam and the 5 points advanced by the National Liberation Movement [Viet Cong] on the settlement of the Viet Nam problem.'

"It is known that as part of its trade arrangements with North Viet Nam, Rumania supplies vehicles to the Hanoi regime. For the most part Communist vehicles are multi-purpose and can be used interchangeably for military and commercial purposes. Any vehicles sent, therefore, can be assumed to support Hanoi's military operations.

"Last year U.S. exports to Czechoslovakia were almost two and one half times the amount exported the year earlier. And the figures for this year indicate exports to Czechoslovakia could be more than twice as great as last year. Radio Prague told the Czechoslovakian people on Sept. 15, 1966, in commenting on the agreement signed with North Viet Nam:

" 'We shall deliver . . . machines and equipment, means of transportation.'

"On about the same date a Soviet official according to a press report told an American in Moscow:

" 'We are not mediators, we are parties to the conflict. Our only responsibility is to supply military assistance to a fraternal Socialistic nation under attack.'

"In the light of the foregoing, the Administration policy is confusing, it is ironic, and it is tragic.

"In my view the President has received incredibly bad advice in connection with the decision to lower the export control bars, and to finance sales to the Communists through the Export-Import Bank.

"I believe the President should repudiate these proposals in the national interest. I believe the Congress must exercise firm leadership in rejecting any proposed legislation to help open up trade and in working to bring about a revision of the decision to sell to the Reds the very tools and implements they seek to advance communism."

• *By a 275-to-64 vote, the House on October 13 passed the Pool bill which would provide stiff penalties for those who actively attempt to delivery money or property to any foreign power engaged in armed conflict with the United States or who obstruct the movement of the personnel and supplies of the Armed Forces. The full rollcall vote will appear in* Human Events. *The measure now goes to the Senate where pressures for adjournment make passage this year unlikely. (For more details on the Pool bill see the cover story of our September 10 issue.)*

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Saxon Sacked?

LBJ is having considerable doubts about reappointing the controversial James J. Saxon as comptroller of the currency.

McCLELLAN

Back in April Sen. John McClellan's (D.-Ark.) Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations issued a report sharply critical of Saxon's bank chartering practices.

The McClellan report accused Saxon of granting charters without adequate supervision. Two of the most flagrant examples of this, charged McClellan, "relate to the disintegration and collapse of the San Francisco National Bank and of the Brighton Bank of Brighton, Colo."

Saxon is again in trouble because the National Federation of Federal Employes has filed an unfair labor charge against him. A spokesman for the NFFE has accused Saxon of using "terror tactics, intimidation and harassment" to try to discourage employes in his department from joining or belonging to NFFE.

Any finding against Saxon, of course, would only embarrass the Administration. Hence, LBJ's desire to see him go.

OEO's Money Tree

Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity is now distributing million-dollar grants to groups that have not even requested aid. Washington *Post* reporter Nicholas von Hoffman disclosed last week that the OEO had awarded a $1.2-million grant to Rust College, a Negro institution in Holly Springs, Miss., despite the fact it had never applied for the money.

Five days after Washington announced the grant, Shriver had not yet received the formal application on which he supposedly acted.

A college official indicated the school might not even accept the funds, which were earmarked for an Operation Headstart program.

"So anxious was Washington to get the green stuff off its hands that Jule Sugarman, national Headstart director, dispatched a representative from his office to Holly Springs with orders to draw up preliminary plans and a budget within 18 hours," the *Post* reported. "The resulting budget is more than $600 per child over the recommended OEO maximum figures."

But Rust College was not the only Mississippi group to receive an OEO windfall. A second group, Mississippi Action for Progress, was assured $10 million despite the fact that only 11 of its 18 board members have been selected. The 11 met last week in Yazoo City to pick an executive director and spend the first $3 million of the promised $10-million grant.

A $700,000 grant was given a third group, Southwest Mississippi Opportunities, on the strength of an application telephoned to Washington by a member of a 15-man OEO task force that has been in the state for several weeks. The task force is headed by Robert Moore, a former Democratic congressional candidate who now serves the OEO as a "management consultant."

LBJ Bells the Fat Cats

LBJ may be unpopular with the average voter these days, but not with the many elements of big business who couldn't care less if the country "goes Socialist" under the "Great Society."

A number of business fat cats, many of whom lustily contributed to LBJ's 1964 campaign, aren't too worried about federal control over business so long as they're sure the President and his party will hand them a large slice of the economic pie through multi-billion-dollar government contracts.

Builders, bankers and real estate operators, for example, plumped for the controversial rent subsidy scheme because they knew they would receive good-sized profits from the government if it passed. Landlords can get a 40-year federal subsidy under the program.

Shippers, grain elevator operators and exporters continue to push for foreign aid programs, since they stand to reap big financial gains. Corporate executives at Xerox, IBM, Firestone and numerous other large firms are also supporting LBJ's plans to beef up the Communist bloc with American trade, since they can richly profit from such transactions.

In alliance with the "fat cats," the Administration earlier this year bulled the Participation Sales Act through Congress. Under this measure, the government can float securities at an interest rate of 5.5 per cent or more, far above the legal interest rate limit of 4.25 per cent on long-term Treasury bonds and U.S. Savings Bonds. Persons of moderate means, moreover, will be unable to afford these new federally guaranteed securities, since no share can be sold for less than $5,000.

Last week the fat cats had a new cause: LBJ's multi-billion-dollar demonstration cities program, which—if it ever passes—promises to put the federal government in control of every large city in the country. The federal government will have the power to make zoning laws, establish building codes, redistrict school boundaries and spend billions of dollars for urban renewal, public housing, transportation and a myriad of other projects.

Equally important, it seems, as far as LBJ's big business allies are concerned, the government will be able to channel millions of taxpayer dollars toward their companies.

So enthralled were some big businessmen with the demonstration cities bill that no fewer than 22 executives of major corporations banded together to urge Congress to pass it. Under the leadership of Edgar F. Kaiser, president of Kaiser Industries, these executives issued a statement which, in the words of columnist James Reston, could have been "written by Walter Reuther of the AFL-CIO."

While members of the "Kaiser lobby" may have had only the purest of motives for supporting the bill, many also are in heavily regulated industries; many others stood to gain by currying favor with an Administration that will dispense billions under the program. Support for the demonstration cities bill is only the latest sign of the growing infatuation between LBJ and the fat cats, a love that is blooming at the taxpayers' expense.

Here are the 22 corporation executives who signed the statement strongly backing the bill:

Stephen D. Bechtel, chairman, Bechtel Corp.; Fred J. Borch, President, General Electric Co.; Donald Cook, President, American Electric Power Service Corp.; Howard L. Clark, President, American Express Co.; Justin Dart, President, Rexall Drug and Chemical Co.; R. Gwin Follis, Chairman of the Board, Standard Oil of California; Henry Ford II, Chairman of the Boafd, Ford Motor Co.; Thomas S. Gates Jr., Chairman of the Board, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.; Ben Heineman, Chairman of the Board, Chicago and North Western Railway; Edgar F. Kaiser, President, Kaiser Industries Corp.; David Kennedy, Chairman of the Board, Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Co.; Robert Lehman, Chairman of the Board, Lehman Brothers; Cyril J. Magnin, President, Joseph Magnin Co.; John McCone, investment banker; Stanley Marcus, President, Neiman-Marcus, Alfred E. Periman, President, Pennsylvania-New York Central Transportation Co.; Herman H. Pevler, President, Norfolk & Western Railway Co; David Rockefeller, President, The Chase Manhattan Bank; Stuart Saunders, Chairman of the Board, Pennsylvania Railway; Herbert R. Silverman, Chairman of the Board, James Talcott, Inc.; Jack I. Straus, Chairman of the Board, R. H. Macy, Inc.; and Thomas J. Watson Jr., Chairman of the Board, International Business Machines Corp.

FHA Blunder

Delaware's super-sleuth, Sen. John J. Williams (R.), has decried the fact that Webb & Knapp, Inc., a major contractor on urban renewal projects in New York City, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, was awarded $67 million in government-guaranteed mortgages when it owed $27 million in taxes.

Sen. Williams asserted that total assets of the company, now bankrupt, "are listed at approximately $2 million and the Treasury Department estimates that no more than $1 million will be collected on this $27-million tax liability."

The senator asked why the Treasury Department allowed the company to get so far behind in its payment of income taxes so that the government was confronted with a $26-million loss.

"It is particularly hard to understand," said Williams, "in view of the fact that after this tax delinquency had been incurred this same company under another agency, FHA, had obtained FHA guarantees on loans totaling over $67 million."

Furthermore, said Williams, all of the $67 million in Federal Housing Administration (FHA) mortgages is currently in default with payments on principal being deferred.

"Either the liaison between the respective government agencies is not functioning or someone in both agencies was negligent in discharging his responsibilities."

"Why was this company allowed to create a tax deficiency of $27 million between 1952 and 1960?" he asked. "And why was this delinquency still outstanding when bankruptcy was filed in 1965?

"Why did the FHA approve $67 million in government-guaranteed mortgages for a company which at the time owed $27 million in taxes?"

Diplomat Scores Bobby

Former Ambassador Ellis O. Briggs has roasted Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's much-publicized tour to South America last fall, stressing he could not imagine a "worse way to promote international good will." (See *Human Events*, February 12 p. 8.)

KENNEDY

A 41-year-career diplomat who served as ambassador to four Latin American countries, Brigg derided Kennedy in a speech delivered in New York to the Americas Foundation.

While actually refraining from mentioning Kennedy by name, Briggs spoke of "a youthful senator" who toured several major Latin republics last fall.

Noted the career ambassador: "Two revelations were reported by this volunteer emissary.

"The first presumed to explain to the citizens and officials of successive South American countries—as to candidates for Boy Scout indoctrination—the intricacies of North American hemisphere policy. There was a comforting aside to the effect that Wall Street no longer dominates the Potomac."

The "visitor," said Briggs, then proceeded to consider the Dominican situation with "loud forensic drumbeats that echoed across the area where the responsible United States official—the secretary of state—was at the same moment tiptoeing across Copacabana Beach, doing his utmost not to arouse the congregation assembled in Rio de Janeiro for the first formal Pan American reunion in nearly a decade.

"Unsolicited advice was then added to the prescription, and the neighbors were told how to comport themselves in their domestic responsibilities. Latin American taxes received critical scrutiny, as did the distribution and use of real estate in South America. . . . Africa was solemnly recommended as a field for Latin American political activity.

"Sour are the abuses of hospitality. A worse way to promote international good will would be hard to imagine."

Observed diplomat Briggs: "In a reverse situation, an invading foreigner who presumed to harangue a North American audience about civil rights, the slowness of desegregation or inadequate taxes would be lucky to escape with his shirt on his back. He would almost certainly lose his *bombachas* [breeches]."

• *The New York* Times *reported last week that LBJ and other Democratic strategists apparently have given up hope of unseating Sen. Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.).*

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Conservative Camp Split

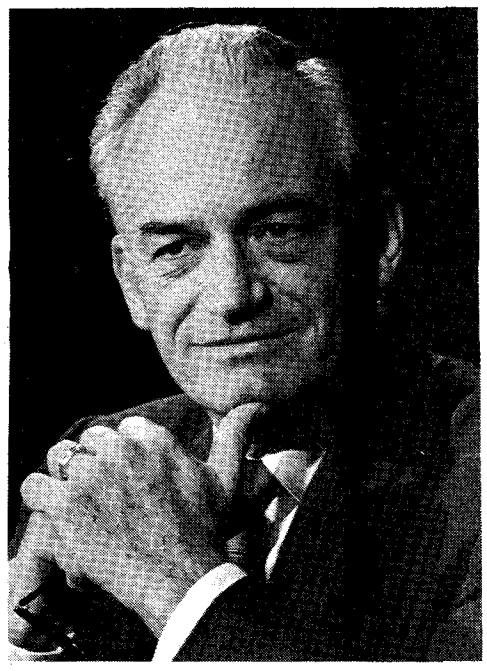
The Pollution Issue Just Won't Go Away

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Apart from the Vietnamese war and the high cost of living, the issue of our physical surroundings seems to strike more sensitive nerves than any other issue affecting the 1966 political campaigns. The very mention of "pollution" in a column touches off the letter writers as nothing else does. Some of the letters are nostalgic and romantic, full of dreams of the past when the streams were clear and every small town was a Tom Sawyer-Huck Finn paradise. Other letters are argumentative, and some of them make points that should, in the interest of fairness, be presented.

Thus Don Miller, the outdoor editor of the Elyria (Ohio) *Chronicle-Telegram,* picks up a remark made in this column apropos Lake Erie. The remark was purely tangential, put forward in an article that was partly devoted to a scientist's proposal to turn Long Island Sound into a fresh water lake by damming it at two ends. "Soon," so I wrote, "we would have an eastern seaboard version of Lake Erie, where the fish are reputedly dying for lack of oxygen."

The word "reputedly" was used advisedly, for my information about Lake Erie came from other people's articles and not from any personal dunking in the lake. What Mr. Miller says is that



Many conservatives disagree with Barry Goldwater over damming the Colorado River below the Grand Canyon.

the many words written about Lake Erie being a "cesspool" are way off base. Mr. Miller admits that samplings of the lake "revealed an area of oxygen depletion in deep water, off Lorain." But this, so he continues, "has not killed fish. They merely avoid such areas. In turn, these areas of oxygen depletion normally are not permanent; they exist because of a combination of circumstances which can be varied by so little as a shift in wind direction."

Mr. Miller's report should be heartening to those who have assumed that pollution of U.S. lakes and rivers has reached a point of no return.

"On Lake Erie," he says, "we have a problem of combating pollution, most of it stemming from the Detroit area, and this is under attack now. Today it is a fine body of water. On my last walleye fishing trip, from four to eight p.m., I caught 39. It is not at all unusual for me to catch from five to 10 smallmouth bass per outing, with the average varying from two to three pounds. . . . Anyone can, in an afternoon of fishing for yellow perch, take 150 fish per individual. . . ."

Mr. Miller is bothered because the more perfervid accounts of Lake Erie pollution are destroying his favorite lake as a playground for vacationers. "I have no economic interest in cottages, marinas or commercial fishing," he says. "My only interest is in letting people know the truth about this five-million-acre body of water."

Since the conservation issue in all its many facets is being picked up by political candidates everywhere, it is good to have all the pros and cons laid out for inspection. Last month this column let Barry Goldwater have his say about the proposal to dam the Colorado River in a couple of places below the Grand Canyon. Goldwater says the damming would not harm the Grand Canyon from the spectatorial point of view. Since he is a native of Arizona and an honest man who would not knowingly violate the truth, I thought Goldwater was entitled to his opinion, which hadn't had much play in the headlines.

Barry's opinion, however, has by no means won the conservatives to his pro-Arizona argument that damming the Colorado will produce economic benefits that outweigh any esthetic loss in Grand Canyon scenery.

The New Guard, which is the monthly magazine of Young Americans for Freedom, a group which has always stood staunchly in Barry's corner, comes out boldly against the damming of the Colorado. *The New Guard* editors call the proposition a "boondoggle" which would destroy invaluable geological records and block the side canyons with silt that would create a nasty situation at "low tide" in the river system.

So the conservative camp is split down the middle on the subject of tampering with the Colorado River. Well, the more argument here the better. Regardless of the rights and wrongs in the damming issue, it is good to know that conservatives can be trusted to keep open minds until the evidence has been thoroughly sifted.

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☐ ☐ ☐

SHRINKING PENSIONS—The Bureau of Labor Statistics spells out what runaway inflation means to the average American: If you retired on a fixed income or pension of $3,000 in 1940, it has now shrunk to $1,290. And if you retired in 1960 with a $5,000 pension, you have already lost $450.

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RACES of the WEEK

This is the sixteenth installment of our regular pre-election feature, Races of the Week. Each week until Election Day, November 8, *Human Events* will offer as many analyses of key election contests from coast to coast as space permits.

Virginia's 10th District

Broyhill vs. DuVal

In late July Clive DuVal called in newsmen and announced that "as a former general counsel for the United States Information Agency, I have been asked to take a look at our information program in Viet Nam."

BROYHILL

The implication was clear—DuVal was leaving for Viet Nam on a government mission. Not so, Rep. Robert Dole (R.-Kan.) discovered. USIA Director Leonard Marks told Dole that his agency knew nothing of DuVal's trip and had not in any way authorized it.

The trip was, instead, a headline-hunting jaunt by DuVal, Democratic opponent of seven-term Rep. Joel Broyhill (R.-Va.). The move apparently backfired, as local newspapers exposed DuVal's trip as blatantly political.

DuVal terms Broyhill a "do-nothing" congressman, but his own words have come back to haunt him. Broyhill exhibits a 1962 telegram sent him by DuVal lauding his "constructive leadership" in Congress.

Broyhill cites inflation as the campaign's No. 1 issue. Administration defenders, he says, "overlook the fact that pork has gone up $500 a ton and raise hell because steel goes up $2 a ton." The issues are clear-cut. Broyhill, a staunch conservative, attacks foreign aid. DuVal defends it. Broyhill demands victory in Viet Nam. Duval pussyfoots. Broyhill hits reckless federal spending. DuVal is a consistent Administration supporter.

Redistricting by the Democratic state legislature has greatly aided DuVal. Broyhill has captured the 10th District seven times, always with the help of a heavy majority in Fairfax County. But the legislature removed 40 per cent of Fairfax County from the district and put Broyhill in jeopardy. Had the 1964 election been confined to the new boundaries, Broyhill would have won by only 700 votes. (Broyhill for Congress headquarters: 4620 Lee Highway, Arlington, Va.)

New Jersey's 1st District

Hunt vs. Piarulli

Alarmed by soaring crime rates, voters in Gloucester County, N.J., elected a much-decorated police officer, Republican John E. Hunt, to the state senate in 1962. Four years later they are likely to give him a solid majority as he campaigns for the U.S. House of Representatives. Hunt, a graduate of the FBI police academy, is making "crime in the streets" a major issue as he seeks votes in New Jersey's newly created 1st Congressional District. He is opposing Michael J. Piarulli, a Camden County freeholder and liberal Democrat.

HUNT

The Republican nominee is an outspoken conservative who served as a Goldwater delegate to the 1964 Republican convention. He is hitting hard at "Great Society" inflation, the scandal-racked "War on Poverty" and the Administration's no-win Viet Nam policy. (Hunt for Congress headquarters: 508 Pitman Ave., Pitman, N.J.).

The incumbent-less district consists of Gloucester County, which is traditionally Republican, and the industrialized, strongly Democratic areas of Camden County. Piarulli is the recipient of considerable support from organized labor and the political machine of Camden Mayor Alfred Pierce.

The 1st District seat is but one of four New Jersey Republicans are given an excellent opportunity to pick up. Freshmen Democrats McGrath (2nd District), Howard (3rd District) and Helstoski (9th District) are all in trouble. The fourth Democratic freshman, Paul J. Krebs, declined to seek re-election when reapportionment placed him in the same district with popular GOP Rep. Frances Dwyer.

Pennsylvania's 19th District

Goodling vs. Craley

"Vote Democratic for Peace and Prosperity," the radio-television commercials of Democratic congressional candidate N. Neiman Craley advised two years ago. "Vote Republican for war."

GOODLING

"Craley was right," former Rep. George Goodling says with a wry smile. "I voted Republican and we've certainly got war."

When Lyndon Johnson swept Pennsylvania's 19th Congressional District by 30,585 votes in 1964, he carried in candidate Craley on his coattails. The Democratic nominee, an obscure instructor at York Junior College, must now seek re-election on his own.

Despite the fact that his district is only two hours from Washington by car, and half an hour by plane, Craley has missed 27 per cent of his 89th Congress rollcalls. In recent weeks his attendence record has been worse than ever and he has missed key rollcalls on aid to education, the "food for freedom" program, truth in packaging, air pollution and conservation.

Craley is running scared, mindful that the district is chronically marginal and that only one incumbent (Goodling) in the last dozen years has won a second term.

In joint appearances with Craley, Goodling attacks Administration-inspired inflation and notes that Craley, when present, votes down the line for "Great Society" programs. A Washington-based business group, National Associated Businessmen, Inc., gives Craley a 0 per cent rating for economy in government.

Goodling, in contrast, is a solid conservative who consistently opposed reckless spending while in Congress. The former lawmaker was a pre-convention backer of Barry Goldwater in 1964. (Goodling for Congress headquarters: Loganville, Pa.)

Utah's 2nd District

Lloyd vs. King

Democrat David King learned the hard way that Utah voters are basically conservatives. A two-term congressman, King ran for the Senate in 1962, opposing incumbent Republican Wallace Bennett. The Salt Lake City lawyer campaigned as a moderate conservative in the tradition of his father, the late Sen. William H. King. Bennett exposed young King's ultra-liberal voting record (100 per cent on both the ADA and COPE charts) and won re-election handily.

LLOYD

King studied the election returns for two years and when he ran again for Congress he campaigned as an "independent, Utah-first Democrat" who would not hesitate to oppose the Administration. He won a third term in the Democratic sweep and has since moved toward the political center.

King has loudly opposed the Administration on a number of issues, but his independence has been largely show. On May 10, for instance, King voted against rent subsidies. Six weeks later, when Administration lobbyists needed his vote, he supported the supplements.

On June 8, King lined up with the bipartisan economy bloc and opposed an Administration move to raise the debt limit from $328 to $330 billion. The conservative Americans for Constitutional Action singled out King and 12 other congressmen for cynically advocating economy after they had supported the very spending programs that made the debt hike inevitable.

Republican nominee Sherman Lloyd (who occupied the 1st District seat from 1962 to 1964, when he ran unsuccessfully for the Senate), is hitting hard at King's vote on 14b. Utah is a right-to-work state and Mormon president David O. McKay had warned that compulsory unionism violated basic church principles, but King lined up with the labor bosses to favor repeal. (Lloyd for Congress headquarters: 1467 Arlington Drive, Salt Lake City, Utah.)

Wyoming At-Large

Harrison vs. Christian

Wyoming Republicans are confident they can win back the at-large House seat they lost in the Johnson landslide of 1964. They have nominated former Rep. William Henry Harrison, a solid conservative who was narrowly defeated two years ago. Rep. Teno Roncalio, who unseated Harrison by a narrow 2,211-vote margin in 1964, is giving up his House seat to run for the Senate. A 26-year-old labor organizer, State Rep. Al Christian captured the Democratic nomination in a bitter primary in August.

HARRISON

Christian, who served formerly as director of the Wyoming State COPE, defeated Casper lawyer Mayne Miller by less than 300 votes. Moderate Democrats who backed Miller are reportedly less than enthusiastic about Christian, a hulking 250-pound graduate of the picket lines.

Harrison, campaigning for his fifth term in Congress, is making the high cost of living a central issue in the campaign. The issue was underscored late last month when Wyoming housewives were socked with a 12-cents-a-gallon increase in the price of milk. (Harrison for Congress headquarters: Assoraka Street, Sheridan, Wyo.)

Not surprisingly, Christian is receiving heavy support from organized labor. National COPE has sent $13,000 into the state and other labor groups have also kicked in. Bobby Kennedy is expected in Wyoming later this month to campaign for Christian, Roncalio and Ernest Wilkerson, Democratic nominee for governor.

Tennessee's 3rd District

Brock vs. Haney

When Bill Brock ran for Congress in 1962 the "experts" said he couldn't win. Tennessee's 3rd Congressional District had not elected a Republican in more than 40 years and a moribund GOP organization had not even bothered to field a candidate in 1960.

BROCK

But Brock campaigned energetically for more than a year and won a stunning victory in a district where only 15 per cent of the voters are thought to be Republicans.

Two months after Brock came to Congress he voted no on "pork barrel" legislation that would give Chattanooga "free" sewers, pumping stations and roads. The "experts" said that Brock had committed political suicide, but the articulate young conservative took his case to the people, explaining that "for every dollar sent to Washington, Chattanooga gets back less than 75 cents."

Voters agreed and Brock was re-elected in 1964, increasing his winning margin to 55 per cent. Chattanooga Democrats have launched an all-out campaign to unseat Brock as he goes after his third term. ("If he's re-elected this time, we'll never get him out," admits one Democratic strategist.)

Brock's opponent is 26-year-old Franklin Haney, ultra-liberal president of the Tennessee Young Democrats. Haney terms Brock "a rubber stamp for the far right," but the GOP congressman staunchly defends his voting record (ACA rating: 91 per cent, ADA rating: zero).

Haney promises to bring more federal dollars to Chattanooga. Brock promises no handouts, but instead all-out opposition to the "indiscriminate and irresponsible federal spending" that has caused runaway inflation. (Brock for Congress Committee: 230 Federal Bldg., Chattanooga, Tenn.)

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Columnist Vindicated

Democrats Begin to Admit Rationing Is in the Works

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

For the first time an important Democrat has admitted that there is some truth to reports that rationing may be imposed by the White House sometime after the November elections. Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, fighting for re-election against Republican G. Alfred McGinnis, has conceded that his opponent's charge—based on my column—is basically true.

Mr. Udall's statement that "a number" of "leftover World War II ration books" have been distributed to be used "in case of emergency" flatly contradicts the denials of the Office of Emergency Planning that no rationing is contemplated. The web of Administration acts, however, remains tangled.

Let me place the facts on the record.

When I reported [see *Human Events,* September 27] that the White House was planning to restore wartime rationing and wage-price controls, there was silence. Then Congress began to receive mail from districts in which my column

Rep. Morris Udall (D.-Ariz.) has admitted that some ration books have already been distributed—"in case of emergency," he says.

appears. The Office of Emergency Planning received inquiries. To me, the OEP categorically denied the existence of ration books or any intent to impose rationing on the country. Rumors of ration books were started, the OEP told me, when food stamps were shipped to the West Coast via Ohio.

Other callers got other answers:

1. The OEP has said that plans for wage-price controls and rationing had been worked out, but for use in case of nuclear attack.

2. The OEP has said that the plans being worked out were of no consequence, but that a number of Peace Corps workers had been assigned to the project to give them "makework."

Mr. Udall's "explanation" makes mincemeat of the OEP's statements. Other facts, as reported to me, point up Administration evasions. For one thing, the wage-price and rationing project is being supervised by Robert Kintner, former president of NBC. This is pretty expensive talent for "makework." Secondly, the Peace Corps has nothing to do with domestic problems or projects.

There are other aspects of the story which cannot be brushed aside. In my column I stated that a printer had already been selected to produce the ration books. The printer I had in mind is a member of the President's Club and a Democratic county chairman—the logical person to be given this hush-hush assignment.

Perhaps it is a coincidence, but as plans for rationing and wage-price controls were being developed, Walter Reuther began pressing for enactment of such handcuffs on the economy. Mr. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers Union, has advocated permanent government control of wages, prices and production ever since 1945. But his sudden return to this topic leads one to wonder.

Government control of the economy is the biggest issue facing the voters next month. The politicians are not yet fully aware of this—but the reaction to the wage-price-rationing report astonished congressmen and senators on Capitol Hill.

Long-distance calls from constituents, anxious mail and queries from other legislators have worried Democratic members. The Republicans, slow to realize that the ache in the pocketbook nerve is hurting Mr. and Mrs. Voter—and still looking for the "alternatives" to the "Great Society" that the immoderate "moderates" seek—are beginning to respond.

In the case of Mr. McGinnis, who prompted Rep. Udall's admission by pressing for answers, the wage-price-rationing question has made him a real contender in a district that was seemingly safe for the Democrats. Other Republican candidates, however, are learning of the impact that a fight on controls can have. The political complexion of the next Congress may be determined by the way in which Democrats and Republicans respond to the Administration's still-secret plans.

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□ □ □

DEPT. OF UTTER FATUITY—"Gardner Ackley, bull clairvoyant of the Council of Economic Advisers, wins today's autographed Sir Oliver Lodge spirit photograph with the observation that there will be less inflation in 1967 if labor and management curb their wage and price demands. Trenchant thought, and just as true as the statement that tomorrow will be clear if no clouds appear. Stated another way, Mr. Ackley's verdict on 1967 is that prices and wages will remain stable if they stop going up. We stand transfixed by the shimmering brilliance of this sort of ratiocination, and we will sleep better at our desk knowing that Mr. A. is at work delving the intentions of our wayward economy."—From the Washington (D.C.) *Daily News*

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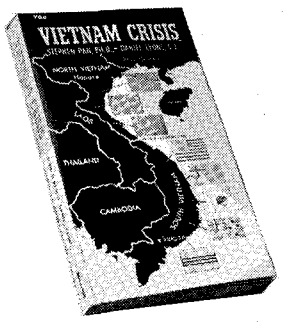

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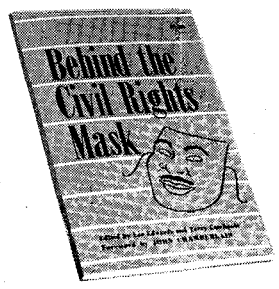

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by Lee Edwards and Terry Catchpole
Foreword by John Chamberlain

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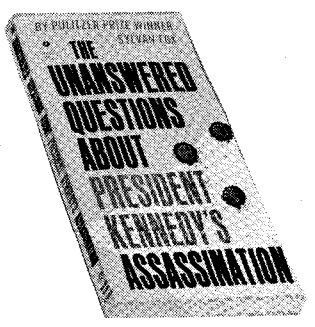

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Smear Tactics of '64 Repeated

'Extremism' Is Still Labor's Big Issue

By TERRY CATCHPOLE

In December 1961, two of America's most powerful labor union leaders strode into the office of the attorney general of the United States and laid on his desk a detailed, 15-page memorandum on how the U.S. government could and should use all its power and influence to fight the growth of the "radical right."

"What are needed," said the memorandum, "are deliberate Administration policies and programs to contain the radical right from further expansion . . . ." As for the role organized labor was to play in this "containment" policy, the document declared that unions and other private agencies "must carry the prime burden in this struggle."

Since the day this paper was dropped on the desk of Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy by Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, and his brother Victor, international vice president of the UAW, organized labor has led a virtual crusade against any political force which could remotely be classified as "right wing."

If the "Reuther Memorandum" did not exactly induce the government to join this crusade, it did fire up the labor union ranks into a campaign which has included some of the most virulent attacks and most outrageous smears ever witnessed by the American public.

In the beginning the primary target of labor's "anti-rightist" attack was the 1964 Republican presidential nominee, Sen. Barry Goldwater. The Arizonan was vilified in labor pamphlets as an anti-labor ogre who would deprive workingmen of their jobs; he was made out to be a bedfellow of anti-Semites and neo-Nazis, and one brochure distributed by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) showed a Goldwater caricature, dressed in armor and brandishing swords, and asked the reader "How about you? War . . . or peace? Goldwater . . . or Johnson?"

When Goldwater was defeated, organized labor grabbed a large share of the credit and boasted of its victory over the "radical right."

Following Goldwater's defeat, however, labor's crusade did not let up a bit. The cudgels were taken up again in preparation for this year's congressional elections. Now once more, the political propagandists of organized labor are making the "radical right" their No. 1 campaign issue and are attempting to portray the Republican party as the haven for a weird assortment of so-called "rightist" elements.

'Documented' Pamphlet

The key to the continued belaboring of the so-called "right wing" is contained in a COPE pamphlet circulated to rank-and-filers in late 1965. This piece of propaganda, entitled "They're Playing for Keeps," warns union men that the "rightist menace," which they might have thought destroyed at the polls in 1964, is still lurking around in dark corners:

"In 1964, the right-wingers took a shellacking at the polls. Their presidential candidate, Sen. Goldwater, was routed . . . . But, out of their crushing 1964 defeat, the extremists—John Birchers and others—learned a valuable lesson. They learned that sound and fury from a national platform are no substitute for planning and organization at the ward and precinct level. They've been planning and organizing ever since."

Then, after the liberal pamphleteers have supposedly "documented" the growth of right-wing groups and radio broadcasts, they exhort the rank-and-file once again to get out and work to defeat the "extremists":

"If the right wing is to be stopped at the polls—if we are to keep Congress in liberal hands—*you* will have to help. You will have to be as busy in politics as the extremists are."

MRA Attacked

It used to be that whenever labor leaders wished to arouse the passions of the rank-and-file they would use Big Business and the "robber barons" who controlled the country's wealth as their whipping boys. But in these days of corporate images, boards of directors and profit-sharing, the labor propagandists have had to create a new bugaboo and the "right-wing extremists" are most definitely *it*. The point being, of course, that labor leaders and organizers have never bothered to appeal to the workers' judgment or common sense, since it is much easier to mount a few slogans and go straight for the emotions.

It is not only the old, familiar rightist targets—the Birchers, H.L. Hunt, etc.—who are victims of the labor broadside these days. Now there are some new groups, publications and individuals who are mixed in the "rightist" stew.

Sen. Goldwater's Free Society Association, for example, was labeled in one COPE publication as a group organized "to unify the rightist elements that formed the core of Goldwater support in 1964," and the COPE membership was warned in ominous tones that a potential "long-range purpose" of the FSA was to "pick the GOP presidential nominee in 1968."

Another group which has recently felt the wrath of labor's propaganda artists is Moral Re-Armament, a worldwide youth organization which promotes morality, nationalism and respect for law through films, plays and touring companies of musicians and singers.

Two consecutive issues of *Steel Labor*, official publication of the United Steel Workers, devoted considerable space and effort to attack MRA. The August 1966 issue of the publication used a full one-third page in "exposing" the MRA-televised musical program, "Up With People," as an effort of the "anti-union right wing" to "branch out into TV." And an editorial in the September issue of *Steel Labor* referred to MRA as "death warmed over" and spoke of the organization's "utter dishonesty, not to speak of its dubious claim to 'moral revolution.'" ("Up With People" does not even mention unions; what seems to have upset the chieftains is the MRA insistence that people stand on their own two feet and that there be a fair day's work for a fair day's wage.

After pinpointing and attacking the various "extremist" groups, the propagandists attempt to demonstrate their influence in the Republican party and warn the membership that, through the GOP, the "rightists aim to wipe out liberal gains at the polls."

COPE and its labor political allies go after conservative Democrats too, of course, since their basic target is conservatism wherever it may be; but in bringing this attack into the realm of practical politics where it could pay off in a labor-oriented Congress, the propagandists must attach the "extremists" to one particular party.

Conservative Democrats – especially Southerners—get their share of abuse from organized labor, but in nowhere near the same amount of intensity as that given the Republican party, which is portrayed as home-sweet-home for the various "extremist" elements.

"Extremists Cement Grip on Dixie GOP," screamed one headline in a recent *Memo from COPE*. "Right-wing Republicans, many of them John Birch Society members, have tightened their grip on the GOP in the South," the story read and it went on to paraphrase a Los Angeles *Times* survey which purported to show that "along with Birch Society support and participation is support and participation by out-and-out racist groups—notably in Mississippi, where the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils have been attracted by the surging Southern GOP."

(Unreported by COPE: the fact that Mississippi's only national Republican officeholder, self-acknowledged segregationist Rep. Prentiss Walker, who is running for the Senate, has received only token campaign contributions from national GOP organizations.)

Votes in Congress

Another COPE "news" item sought to prove that "an overwhelming majority of Republicans in the U.S. House are still clinging to the Goldwater line despite the American voters' crushing rejection of it in 1964."

The article listed the GOP congressional votes on such issues as creation of the power-grabbing Department of Urban Affairs and the unpopular repeal of 14b as evidence of a "rigidly reactionary" Republican congressional delegation.

To further implant the idea in the minds of the rank-and-file that the GOP is a front for "extremists" and a fount of anti-labor power, the labor propagandists placed the blame for defeat of 14b repeal and the drive for constitutional amendments on reapportionment and school prayer almost exclusively on the shoulders of the familiar "rightist-Republican coalition."

Convenient Omissions

"Rightists Urge Last Push to Save 14b," was the headline to an item in one COPE *Memo,* listing Senators Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) and Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) as two "reactionary" senators who were campaigning to defeat the labor-supported repeal; unmentioned in COPE's stories on this issue was the fact that such supposedly outstanding liberal congressmen as Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.) and Rep. Charles Weltner (D.-Ga.) also voted against labor's wishes on repeal.

Another *Memo* from COPE reported the organization of a Committee for Government of the People which was described as a "front group for the nationwide drive behind the Dirksen amendment to kill the Supreme Court one-man, one-vote rule." This item, headlined "Rightists Aid Dirksen Drive to Kill 1-and-1," sifted out four members of this committee whom COPE claimed had ties to "rightist organizations," including the Birch Society, Manion Forum and Young Americans for Freedom.

Again unmentioned in COPE's story were liberals such as Senators Frank Church (D.-Idaho), Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) and Rep. B.F. Sisk (D.-Calif.), all of whom were national co-chairmen of this so-called "rightist" committee.

While the Committee on Political Education is leading labor's attack on conservatives in general and conservative Republicans in particular, it has plenty of allies.

As noted earlier, the Steel Workers publication *Steel Labor* has published countless articles alerting their membership to the new and evil "danger on the right." Just such an article, in the May 1966 issue, spent half a page describing this "danger" and lumped the John Birch Society, Ku Klux Klan and

Those Who Use Him
That Ronald Reagan is singing the songs of the right wing is evident from the way
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COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION, AFL-CIO
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WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer
GEORGE MEANY, Chairman
JULY 11, 1966
NO. 14-66
How Reagan Rode Right-Wing Issues to Political Stardom
Never has one man gone so far on one speech that has so little substance.
This, in capsule form, is the story of Ronald Reagan's political career. He has given many speeches,
Reagan
(Continued from Page 3)
► Reagan attacks medicare: "Traditionally, one of the easiest first steps in imposing statism on the people has been government-paid medicine." (Speech reprinted in 1961 and distributed as a pamphlet by extreme right wing Committee for Constitutional Government) The statement

Above is a typical example of COPE's approach to conservative politicos.

Mr. Catchpole, a free lance writer in Washington, specializes in covering the political activities of organized labor.

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American Nazi party together as the front ranks of the "rightist army."

It was the January 1966 issue of *Steel Labor,* however, that should win an Olympic gold medal for journalistic broad jumping in tying the Republicans with the "extremists." In this one issue there was: (1) an article reporting a speech made by Sen. Lee Metcalf (D.-Mont.) warning that "rightists are out for blood in the '66 elections"; (2) a somewhat belated "expose" of the book *None Dare Call It Treason* as an "anti-American book" being promoted by

These 'right-wing extremists' have come under labor's fire...

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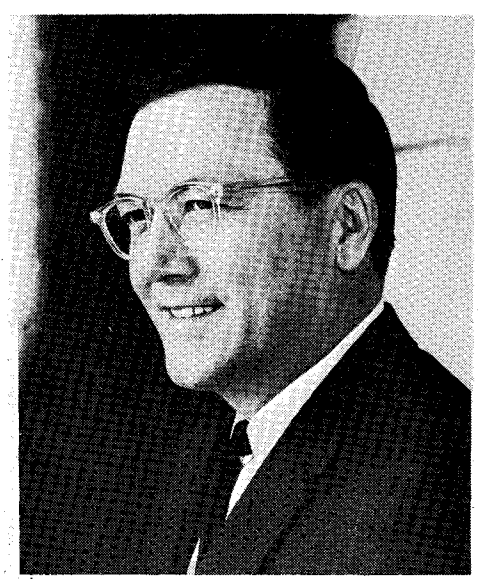

GRIFFIN

"far-right-wingers in cahoots with the JBS"; and, finally, (3) an article criticizing the Republican Leadership Conference for failing to condemn the Birch Society.

Through the use of the time-honored propaganda tactic of guilt-by-association, organized labor has performed a shotgun marriage between the Republicans and the "extremists." The fact that a candidate runs under the banner of a political party whose leaders failed to denounce the JBS with its approximately 75,000 members is a more important campaign issue for organized labor than the cost-of-living increase, the war in Viet Nam or a man's qualifications for office. In fact, it is virtually the only issue.

The labor political propagandists may make occasional references to such matters as more jobs through more federal spending and the "flow of progressive legislation enacted in 1965" by congressional liberals, but these are, at most, secondary issues.

When the AFL-CIO held its biannual convention in San Francisco last December and passed a resolution calling on union members to "render all assistance and support to the policies and programs" of COPE, it did not justify this call by *first* mentioning the accomplishments of the men it wanted reelected. As COPE itself reported the passing of the resolution:

"Warning against the resurgent political strength of right-wing and conservative forces, the AFL-CIO convention urged all unions and union members to total effort in behalf of liberals in the 1966 congressional elections."

Once the labor politicos have the Republicans and the "extremists" bundled together in a neat little package, the sniping at individual candidates can begin. Most everyone is well aware of the attack on Sen. Goldwater in 1964, the charges of "anti-unionism" and "war-mongering," and that organized labor spent more time and money than in any previous election to gain Goldwater's defeat.

This year, of course, there is no Goldwater running, nor any other Republican of national significance whom labor can point to as an example of the "extremists' " grip on the GOP. The closest the big union propagandists can come to such a figure is Ronald Reagan, Republican candidate for governor of California; while Reagan does not yet have the nationwide prominence Goldwater held in 1964, labor is making Reagan its No. 1 whipping boy and is trying to convince the rank-and-file that the former movie actor's candidacy is clear evidence the "right wing" is still threatening some sort of ominous national "take-over."

The most vicious hatchet job done on Reagan thus far in the campaign was the July 11, 1966, issue of COPE's *Memo*, every page of which was devoted to an attack on the candidate, his position and his supporters. The four-page attack, not-too-subtly headlined "How Reagan Rode Right-Wing Issues to Political Stardom," sought to link Reagan with every "extremist" element imaginable, including the rather small National Indignation Convention, the Rev. Billy James Hargis and, most amazing of all, anti-Semite Gerald L. K. Smith and his publication *The Cross and the Flag*.

It seems Smith chose to reprint a Reagan speech, which was part of the public record, and COPE links the two, pretending to be "fair" by saying that Reagan "cannot be held responsible for the way [Smith] uses his words," and then they cancel this out by turning around to say "but if they weren't the right words the extremists wouldn't use them."

A typical example of COPE's efforts to tie Reagan with those the organization has identified as "right-wing extremists" is an item in which COPE quotes Reagan as referring to "one of the foremost authorities on communism in the world today." As the *Memo's* author notes, Reagan did not identify this "authority." But so the rank-and-file will not wonder who it is, the COPE propagandist declares that Reagan "could be quoting Fred Schwarz [head of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade] or Birch Society leader Robert Welch. . . ," two men whom COPE, of course, constantly lambastes.

Targets This Year

The COPE attack on Ronald Reagan has been building and growing for over a year and ever since he declared his candidacy the bi-weekly *Memo* has rarely failed to mention him in a derogatory way:

The May 17, 1965, issue quoted a California Democrat referring to Reagan as the "darling of the right wing in California"; the June 28, 1965, *Memo* labeled him as a "right-wing TV-movie actor"; the Oct. 4, 1965, issue condemned Reagan for failing to disavow the support of JBS members; the May 30, 1966, issue spoke of Reagan as a "right-winger and ardent Goldwaterite"; while the June 13, 1966, issue revealed the whole strategy of using Reagan to make the rank-and-file believe he is the front-man for a "right-wing conspiracy take-over": Reagan is, this *Memo* said, "an ardent Goldwater backer, Medicare opponent, foe of recent civil rights legislation . . . [his primary] victory provided strong evidence that the right wing still holds the reins in the California GOP."

Meanwhile, labor propagandists have not forgotten other Republican candidates who, they feel, should also wear the "rightist" label.

The Senate race in Montana between incumbent Democrat Lee Metcalf and Gov. Tim Babcock, for example, is being portrayed by labor politicos as a "do-or-die" battle between the evil forces of the far right behind Babcock and the knights in shining armor led by Metcalf; COPE sounded the battle cry for this contest when the governor announced his candidacy, as it trumpeted that a "tough re-election race looms for liberal Sen. Lee Metcalf of Montana, as ultra-conservative GOP Gov. Tim Babcock announces his hat's in the ring."

The union chieftains hope this campaign portraying Babcock as a dangerous "rightist" will help Metcalf by getting the Montana voters to forget his unpopular stand opposing the war in Viet Nam.

In Michigan's Senate contest, moderate Republican incumbent Robert Griffin is being painted by the powerful labor leaders in his state as "anti-labor, anti-progress, anti-city, and anti-people," in the words of his labor-backed opponent, G. Mennen ("Soapy") Williams.

One of the vital issues to arise in this campaign, to demonstrate the lengths and depths the labor-Democratic forces will go to in raising the "rightist" issue, is that the public relations firm hired by Griffin happens to employ a very talented PR man who at one time dared work for a lobbying group trying to pass Sen. Dirksen's proposed constitutional amendment on reapportionment.

In taking cognizance of the power and strategy of organized labor in Michigan, the liberal Washington *Post's* political reporter David Broder recently noted that "in all that time [since 1948], only [Gov. George] Romney has survived the Democratic-union effort to identify Republican candidates with reaction."

In congressional elections labor propagandists are concentrating their heaviest fire on Republican incumbents who were defeated in 1964 and are attempting to return to Congress this year.

A COPE *Memo* concerning such races began its story by declaring that "it's comeback year for Goldwater Republicans in GOP primaries—so much so that it suggests the all-out shellacking right-wingers took in 1964 failed to shake their grip on party organizations in most areas." Among the candidates mentioned in the article are former Representatives Steven Derounian (N.Y.), George Goodling (Pa.), John Pillion (N. Y.), Henry Schadeberg (Wis.), George Meader (Mich.) and Louis Wyman (N.H.).

The headline on the "comeback" article read: "Primary Wins Show Rightists Still Hold GOP." It alone tells the story of what COPE and other labor political propagandists are trying to make the rank-and-filers believe.

Rather than an honest debate on major issues—the war in Viet Nam, the possibilities of inflation, the management of the "War on Poverty," or scores of others—the labor hatchet-men find it more expedient to rely on the tactic of portraying candidates they oppose as captives of "extremists."

It is much easier, after all, to build an image of your opponent as an undesirable evil and continually reinforce this image through distortion and half-truth, than it is to test your ideas against your opponents' in the light of political debate.

In 1964 labor propagandists succeeded in building an image of the Republican party as a tool for "rightist extremists" and this year they seek the easy road to victory by reinforcing this image in the eyes of the union membership.

The road, however, may not be as easy as it was two years ago. Reporting on the Democratic-labor strategy in California of portraying Ronald Reagan as a captive of the John Birch Society, columnists Evans and Novak stated that "with some six weeks to go in the campaign the Birch issue indeed is dead. . . . The impact has been zero. Polls taken by both camps show Californians—particularly the 60 per cent of the state's population that lives in Los Angeles, Orange and San Diego counties in southern California—couldn't care less about the John Birch Society or right-wing extremism issue."

A surprising confirmation of this analysis came from the far-left *Ramparts* magazine. After describing how Gov. Brown had three full-time employes doing nothing but researching Reagan's "right-wing connections" for a 29-page report, the *Ramparts* editors belittle the strategy, saying "the 'connections' were nebulous, as most newspapers immediately noticed," adding that "to claim, as the Democratic 'dossier' does, that Reagan 'uses his considerable platform talents as a magnet to build up neo-Fascist organizations' is a gross exaggeration."

So, perhaps the labor rank-and-file has grown wise to their leaders' attempts to fraudulently paint any Republican to the right of Sen. Javits as an "extremist." But the propagandists have chosen their strategy and it is too late in the campaign to change; the attacks will most likely continue.

This may not be exactly the way Thomas Jefferson and other framers of the Constitution envisioned politics in America being conducted, but this is the way, almost 200 years later, the largest organized political bloc in the country chooses to run its campaign. In ignoring the real issues the labor political leaders either have no respect for the intelligence of union members or they are intent on ruling by demagoguery.

In either case Walter Reuther must be happy to see how faithfully his fellow union leaders read his memorandum and are putting it into vocal action, doing something about the "radical right." Someday maybe somebody will tell the attorney general what to do about Walter Reuther.

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ADA and COPE Rate Members of Congress

Below are the voting ratings of congressmen and senators which have just been issued by the ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Action and by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE). The ADA ratings are for the **second** session of the 89th Congress, while the COPE figures are cumulative for a member's service in Congress since 1947.

The higher the figure, the greater a member's fidelity to "liberalism" as interpreted by the ADA, while the COPE figures represent a percentage of votes the member cast in favor of issues backed by Big Labor.

ADA based its second session ratings on 12 House and 16 Senate rollcall votes. COPE updated their ratings with 13 House and 12 Senate rollcalls for **both** sessions of the 89th Congress. Rent subsidies, minimum wage and "right-to-work" legislation were among the issues included in the ratings of both organizations.

The listings are by state; Democrats first in light face type, Republicans in **boldface**. The first figure after the name is the 1966 ADA rating; the second, the cumulative COPE figure.

Senate

	ADA 1966 rating	COPE rating
ALABAMA		
Hill	6	67
Sparkman	19	68
ALASKA		
Bartlett	81	88
Gruening	88	90
ARIZONA		
Hayden	6	71
Fannin	0	0
ARKANSAS		
Fulbright	50	53
McClellan	0	22
CALIFORNIA		
Kuchel	44	49
Murphy	6	8
COLORADO		
Allott	12	22
Dominick	6	6
CONNECTICUT		
Dodd	69	85
Ribicoff	88	96
DELAWARE		
Boggs	44	45
Williams	6	6
FLORIDA		
Holland	6	19
Smathers	12	41
GEORGIA		
Russell	6	30
Talmadge	0	25
HAWAII		
Inouye	81	98
Fong	50	55
IDAHO		
Church	63	88
Jordan	0	5
ILLINOIS		
Douglas	88	100
Dirksen	0	10
INDIANA		
Bayh	88	100
Hartke	63	89
IOWA		
Hickenl'per	0	7
Miller	12	13
KANSAS		
Carlson	6	13
Pearson	0	9
KENTUCKY		
Cooper	12	58
Morton	6	27
LOUISIANA		
Ellender	25	33
Long	56	60
MAINE		
Muskie	81	100
Smith	56	59
MARYLAND		
Brewster	75	98
Tydings	88	100
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy	100	100
Saltonstall	12	20
MICHIGAN		
Hart	94	100
Griffin	23	14
MINNESOTA		
McCarthy	88	98
Mondale	94	100
MISSISSIPPI		
Eastland	0	19
Stennis	0	25
MISSOURI		
Long	81	92
Symington	56	97
MONTANA		
Mansfield	88	87
Metcalf	75	96
NEBRASKA		
Curtis	0	3
Hruska	0	5
NEVADA		
Bible	44	69
Cannon	37	78
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
McIntyre	56	95
Cotton	6	9
NEW JERSEY		
Williams	94	98
Case	94	77
NEW MEXICO		
Anderson	75	88
Montoya	75	94
NEW YORK		
Kennedy	100	100
Javits	88	86
NORTH CAROLINA		
Ervin	6	27
Jordan	0	25
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick	88	98
Young	6	26
OHIO		
Lausche	6	30
Young	88	98
OKLAHOMA		
Harris	63	75
Monroney	50	74
OREGON		
Morse	88	96
Neuberger	94	100
PENNSYLVANIA		
Clark	100	98
Scott	37	56
RHODE ISLAND		
Pastore	81	99
Pell	94	100
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Russell	6	0
Thurmond	0	10
SOUTH DAKOTA		
McGovern	81	95
Mundt	0	12
TENNESSEE		
Bass	56	83
Gore	88	78
TEXAS		
Yarborough	88	88
Tower	0	0
UTAH		
Moss	75	90
Bennett	0	5
VERMONT		
Aiken	69	55
Prouty	37	43
VIRGINIA		
Byrd	6	25
Robertson	6	7
WASHINGTON		
Jackson	81	98
Magnuson	75	98
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd	37	75
Randolph	63	88
WISCONSIN		
Nelson	100	100
Proxmire	94	97
WYOMING		
McGee	88	90
Simpson	0	0

House of Representatives

	ADA 1966 rating	COPE rating
ALABAMA		
Andrews, G.	0	33
Jones	42	78
Selden	0	36
Andrews, Gl.	0	0
Buchanan	0	0
Dickinson	0	0
Edwards	0	0
Martin	0	0
ALASKA		
Rivers	75	100
ARIZONA		
Senner	67	100
Udall	92	85
Rhodes	0	9
ARKANSAS		
Gathings	0	23
Mills	8	59
Trimble	67	79
(vacancy)		
CALIFORNIA		
Brown	83	100
Burton	92	100
Cameron	75	95
Cohelan	92	100
Corman	83	100
Dyal	83	100
Edwards	100	100
Hagen	50	91
Hanna	58	96
Hawkins	92	100
Holifield	92	96
Johnson	92	98
King	92	97
Leggett	100	96
McFall	92	98
Miller	92	99
Moss	83	98
Rees	92	100
Roybal	92	100
Sisk	83	97
Tunney	67	83
Van Deerlin	83	96
Waldie	100	—
Wilson, C.	58	100
Bell	42	14
Clausen	0	9
Clawson	0	10
Gubser	8	19
Hosmer	0	19
Lipscomb	0	9
Mailliard	58	39
Reinecke	8	0
Smith	0	5
Talcott	8	8
Teague	8	11
Utt	0	0
Wilson, B.	0	9
Younger	8	12
COLORADO		
Aspinall	67	89
Evans	83	100
McVicker	67	78
Rogers	92	97
CONNECTICUT		
Daddario	83	96
Giaimo	83	96
Grabowski	83	96
Irwin	83	96
Monagan	83	93
St. Onge	83	96
DELAWARE		
McDowell	92	96
FLORIDA		
Bennett	8	47
Fascell	83	75
Fuqua	0	22
Gibbons	67	75
Haley	0	9
Herlong	0	25
Matthews	17	45
Pepper	92	100
Rogers	0	32
Sikes	0	42
Cramer	0	3
Gurney	0	0
GEORGIA		
Davis	25	49
Flynt	0	32
Hagan	0	42
Landrum	33	45
Mackay	67	77
O'Neal	0	0
Stephens	17	49
Tuten	25	50
Weltner	75	84
Callaway	0	0
HAWAII		
Matsunaga	100	100
Mink	92	100
IDAHO		
White	42	91
Hansen	0	0
ILLINOIS		
Annunzio	100	100
Dawson	92	99
Gray	75	90
Kluczynski	92	100
Murphy	100	100
O'Hara	92	97
Price	92	100
Pucinski	75	98
Ronan	100	100
Rostenkski	92	100
Schisler	67	92
Shipley	58	93
Yates	92	94
Anderson	0	3
Arends	0	9
Collier	8	10
Derwinski	0	5
Erlenborn	8	0
Findley	8	3
McClory	8	9
Michel	8	16
Reid	0	9
Rumsfeld	17	4
Springer	8	15
INDIANA		
Brademas	92	100
Denton	83	91
Hamilton	50	85
Jacobs	92	100
Madden	83	97
Roush	58	95
Adair	0	8
Bray	0	27
Halleck	0	8
Harvey	0	10
Roudebush	0	9
IOWA		
Bandstra	83	100
Culver	67	92
Greigg	50	77
Hansen	58	85
Schmidh'ser	83	100
Smith	67	96
Gross	0	16
KANSAS		
Dole	0	3
Ellsworth	8	15
Mize	0	8
Shriver	0	6
Skubitz	0	4
KENTUCKY		
Chelf	17	78
Farnsley	92	100
Natcher	33	75
Perkins	83	92
Stubblef'ld	42	72
Watts	17	66
Carter	0	25
LOUISIANA		
Boggs	83	78
Edwards	17	67
Hebert	0	37
Long	0	15
Morrison	42	79
Passman	0	27
Waggonner	0	10
Willis	0	53
MAINE		
Hathaway	92	100
Tupper	67	70
MARYLAND		
Fallon	75	76
Friedel	83	96
Garmatz	75	98
Long	92	88
Machen	67	100
Sickles	100	100
Mathias	33	53
Morton	8	13
MASSACHUSETTS		
Boland	92	97
Burke	92	98
Donohue	83	96
Macdonald	83	92
McCormack	—	—
O'Neill	92	96
Philbin	83	93
Bates	25	19
Conte	67	40
Keith	17	22
Martin	17	35
Morse	50	53
MICHIGAN		
Clevenger	92	100
Conyers	92	100
Diggs	83	98
Dingell	83	100
Farnum	83	93
Ford, W.	92	100
Griffiths	83	97
Mackie	100	100
Nedzi	92	97
O'Hara	83	96
Todd	75	85
Vivian	100	92
Broomfield	17	29
Cederberg	0	4
Chamberlain	0	19
Ford, G.	0	0
Harvey	33	9
Hutchinson	0	0
(vacancy)		
MINNESOTA		
Blatnik	92	97
Fraser	100	100
Karth	83	100
Olson	67	91
Langen	0	7
MacGregor	17	9
Nelsen	0	9
Quie	17	11
MISSISSIPPI		
Abernethy	0	18
Colmer	0	0
Whitten	0	15
Williams	0	11
Walker	0	0
MISSOURI		
Bolling	83	100
Hull	8	48
Hungate	50	100
Ichord	8	76
Jones	0	51
Karsten	92	100
Randall	25	91
Sullivan	92	100
Curtis	8	17
Hall	0	0
MONTANA		
Olsen	42	94
Battin	0	3
NEBRASKA		
Callan	58	67
Cunningham	17	25
Martin	0	94
NEVADA		
Baring	0	60
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Huot	75	100
Cleveland	25	13
NEW JERSEY		
Daniels	83	100
Gallagher	92	100
Helstoski	92	100
Howard	83	100
Joelson	83	97
Krebs	83	100
McGrath	83	100
Minish	83	100
Patten	83	100
Rodino	83	100
Thompson	92	100
Cahill	50	59
Dwyer	42	57
Freling'sen	25	27
Widnall	33	36
NEW MEXICO		
Morris	33	77
Walker	25	85
NEW YORK		
Addabbo	83	94
Bingham	100	100
Carey	83	97
Celler	92	100
Delaney	75	99
Dow	100	100
Dulski	67	95
Farbstein	100	100
Gilbert	100	100
Hanley	83	100
Kelly	83	97
Keogh	92	99
McCarthy	58	84
Multer	83	100
Murphy	83	100
O'Brien	83	96
Ottinger	83	92
Pike	42	74
Powell	83	99
Resnick	83	100
Rooney	83	99
Rosenthal	100	100
Ryan	100	100
Scheuer	100	100
Stratton	33	93
Tenzer	67	100
Wolff	83	93
Conable	8	0
Fino	42	78
Goodell	8	5
Grover	25	25
Halpern	67	87
Horton	50	75
King	0	3
Kupferman	74	100
McEwen	0	8
Pirnie	8	29
Reid	83	79
Robison	8	12
Smith	8	0
Wydler	33	25
NORTH CAROLINA		
Cooley	8	46
Fountain	0	37
Henderson	0	29
Jones	0	0
Kornegay	0	32
Lennon	0	15
Scott	0	20
Taylor	0	26
Whitener	0	21
Broyhill	0	0
Jonas	0	4
NORTH DAKOTA		
Redlin	50	93
Andrews	0	5
OHIO		
Ashley	92	98
Feighan	83	91
Gilligan	92	100
Hays	42	92
Kirwan	92	99
Love	58	100
Moeller	25	91
Secrest	42	88
Sweeney	67	100
Vanik	83	95
Ashbrook	0	0
Ayres	17	36
Betts	0	7
Bolton	8	17
Bow	0	6
Brown	8	0
Clancy	0	9
Devine	0	9
Harsha	0	11
Latta	0	7
McCulloch	8	5
Minshall	0	8
Mosher	25	20
Stanton	0	8
OKLAHOMA		
Albert	92	87
Edmondson	50	87
Jarman	0	36
Johnson	58	93
Steed	33	73
Belcher	0	7
OREGON		
Duncan	92	91
Green	100	92
Ullman	92	98
Wyatt	0	0
PENNSYLVANIA		
Barrett	83	100
Byrne	83	100
Clark	75	90
Craley	67	92
Dent	92	96
Flood	83	94
Green	83	100
Holland	83	100
Moorhead	83	95
Morgan	92	96
Nix	83	100
Rhodes	83	97
Rooney	92	100
Toll	(III)	—
Vigorito	50	83
Corbett	33	70
Curtin	0	40
Dague	0	12
Fulton	42	67
Johnson	0	5
Kunkel	17	35
McDade	33	63
Saylor	17	51
Schneebeli	8	10
Schweiker	50	51
Watkins	0	8
Whalley	0	21
RHODE ISLAND		
Fogarty	83	93
St Germain	83	100
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Ashmore	0	18
Dorn	0	17
Gettys	0	8
McMillan	0	18
Rivers	17	24
Watson	0	9
SOUTH DAKOTA		
Berry	0	6
Reifel	8	6
TENNESSEE		
Anderson	83	100
Everett	17	52
Evins	50	68
Fulton	67	96
Grider	67	85
Murray	0	27
Brock	0	0
Duncan	0	0
Quillen	0	4
TEXAS		
Beckworth	42	56
Brooks	92	83
Burleson	17	26
Cabell	8	42
Casey	33	30
de la Garza	33	58
Dowdy	0	15
Fisher	0	12
Gonzalez	92	97
Mahon	33	37
Patman	83	76
Pickle	33	67
Poage	0	48
Pool	0	21
Purcell	8	62
Roberts	0	45
Rogers	0	30
Teague	8	33
Thomas	90	100
Thompson	50	69
White	0	39
Wright	33	68
Young	58	65
UTAH		
King	42	82
Burton	0	10
VERMONT		
Stafford	17	37
VIRGINIA		
Abbitt	0	11
Downing	8	22
Hardy	8	35
Jennings	0	56
Marsh	0	4
Satterfield	0	0
Smith	0	8
Tuck	0	10
Broyhill	0	10
Poff	0	7
WASHINGTON		
Adams	83	100
Foley	58	93
Hansen	92	100
Hicks	67	85
Meeds	83	100
May	8	9
Pelly	25	32
WEST VIRGINIA		
Hechler	67	100
Kee	75	100
Slack	67	89
Staggers	83	93
Moore	8	42
WISCONSIN		
Kastenmeier	92	98
Race	42	93
Reuss	100	100
Stalbaum	75	85
Zablocki	75	100
Byrnes	8	8
Davis	8	3
Laird	0	7
O'Konski	17	78
Thompson	0	6
WYOMING		
Roncalio	50	91

□ □ □

Current House line-up is 294 Democrats and 139 Republicans with two vacancies. McCormack, as Speaker, did not vote; Rep. Herman Toll (D.-Pa.) was ill during the year and did not vote. Thus, these two are not rated. The two vacancies are in Michigan and Arkansas.

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A Pilot's Alarming Report from Viet Nam

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(*Because of many requests we have received, we are reprinting below a letter to the editor which appeared in the September 19 issue of* Aviation Week & Space Technology. *The letter, somewhat technical but nonetheless extremely interesting, was written by an Air Force fighter-bomber pilot currently flying McDonnell F-4Cs in Viet Nam. It has already stirred up much controversy and has been attacked in such liberal publications as* Commonweal. *In its introduction to the letter* Aviation Week & Space Technology *said, "We present it to our readers as the unexpurgated views of a pilot on the firing line. Because of its possible effect on the future of this officer's military career, we are withholding his name and rank."*)

I have been a subscriber to *Aviation Week & Space Technology* since 1960, but this is the first time I have had reason to write to the editor.

I am presently flying tactical fighters in South Viet Nam, and it is time that the facts be given concerning our operations here. By "facts" I mean the actualities of daily operations in this theater. Having no political goals, I have no myths to perpetuate as do our "great white fathers" in Washington. The war here in Viet Nam has become a political football, an exercise in glowing reports, outstanding new records and promises of the "turning tide."

First, the "non-shortage" of munitions. Looking at three jet fighter bases in Viet Nam containing a total of over 12 fighter squadrons, no 750-lb. GP (general purpose) bombs are to be found. The bombs used are 250-lb. Mk. 81 and 500-lb. Mk. 82, the "Snakeye" series, which can be dropped in either high or low-drag form.

The Mk. 82 is a fine weapon in its high-drag form, being accurate and having a fairly good blast effect. The Mk. 81 is, at best, a nuisance charge. Since all the 81s I have seen have been low-drag, they must be dropped by dive bombing, from slant ranges of 4,000-8,000 feet. U. S. Air Force delivery qualifying criteria requires a CEA (circular error, average) of 140 feet. In our FAC (forward air controller) directed attacks, we are usually required to pinpoint a small target such as a bunker or a thatched hut. Radio calls by the FAC are often heard, such as:

" . . . nice bomb—put the next one about 10 meters at 12 o'clock . . . ;" i.e., a miss, but any pilot, fighter or bomber, can tell you that a 33-foot bomb is damn fine shooting! A 750-lb. GP would have blast-damaged or destroyed the target at the proximity; a 250 digs a neat hole nearby.

We receive equal amounts of 81s and 82s, but there are no 750s available in Viet Nam. They must be well hidden, for I have heard Mr. McNamara state time and again that there is no shortage. This must be one of the "isolated exceptions" he mentions.

Another case in point is 20-mm. HEI (high explosive incendiary). Fighter squadrons have an authorized monthly expenditure of 80,000 rounds. A quick look will show this large amount to be quite small. An F-4C, mounting a gun pod, carries 1,200 rounds, while an F-100D carries a total of 800 for its four cannon.

This means that 70 F-4 sorties (seven per day for 10 days—or 10 per day for one week), or 100 F-100 sorties (nine per day for 12 days—or 15 per day for one week) would consume a month's supply if the pilots fired out their guns. Policy dictates, however, that pilots will be briefed on the shortage of 20-mm. ammunition, and will use it only when deemed absolutely necessary by the flight leader or the FAC. This places somewhat of a handicap on the weapons systems' use.

Second comes the matter of "filling squares." Newspaper readers in the United States often read of our terrific sortie rate, or of the tonnage of bombs dropped. None of the papers, however, has taken the time to equate tonnage per sortie. This manner sheds a new light on the picture.

Taking a 200-sortie day, about 300,-000 lb. of ordnance might be delivered. This breaks down to an average of 1,500 lb. per aircraft. That means an average load of two napalm, 4 Mk. 81s plus 800 rounds of 20-mm., or 3 Mk. 82s. This still sounds fair, until we realize that an F-4 could carry 18 Mk. 82s plus a gun pod, or 24 Mk. 82s without a gun; i.e., about 12,000 lb.; and an F-100 could carry four 750-lb.GPs or four napalm, plus its always-loaded 20-mm.

Now the true case appears. There is nothing more demoralizing than the sight of an F-4 taxiing out with nothing but a pair of 81s or 82s nestled among its ejector racks.

However, it looks much better for the commander and the service concerned to show 200 sorties on paper, even when 40 or 50 would do the same job. It also helps in Congress when the services are fighting for their appropriations, for the one with the highest number of sorties obviously needs more money.

Taking the F-4 again, we come to another fact. The F-4C is perhaps the best interceptor USAF has ever had. It is a credit to its designers that it performs so well as a fighter-bomber. But why do we risk the lives of two pilots on every sortie?

The backseat man, as every F-4 driver readily admits, is basically an RO (radar observer), handling the radar and ECM during intercepts. He has no value at all in the back seat on an air-to-ground mission, where all the work is done by the front pilot. Some of the backseaters on this base have resorted to taking along magazines and puzzles so as not to fall asleep during the mission.

It is the addition of a valuable life into the battle zone that is needless. It is a second man to be lost if the aircraft is downed. There has been no reason given, except that "there is a seat there, and it must be filled." Is someone being fed a false bill of goods?

Third, we come to the matter of targeting, the effective use of the available power. When an article reads "structures destroyed," the definition means a straw-thatched hut. "Boat" means anything from a 12-foot one-man dugout to slightly larger sampans. "Bridge" means a bamboo foot-bridge or a pair of logs felled across a stream. "Pack animal" means a water buffalo, cow or even a pig or goat. Let's face the facts. The Viet Cong are not anywhere strong enough to occupy any permanent dwellings, let alone operate any warships in the rivers. And such would have been bombed long ago.

To be sure, these targets must be hit to keep "Charlie" on the run, but at such cost?

We are using $300 napalm bombs, $305 Mk. 82s, $250 Mk. 81s, $2.45 20-mm. rounds, and much more expensive, newer ordnance. In addition, an F-4 uses 2,100 gallons of JP-4 per sortie, an F-100, 1,400 gallons. Add to this the cost of every aircraft lost in the south, $2.5 million per F-4, $800,-000 per F-100, plus the cost of a pilot's life (not in the Christian sense, an irreplaceable asset), two years of training and a $500,000 investment, and then make another tally sheet.

A VC hutch is worth, at most, $20; a pack animal, maybe $100; a bridge, the sweat to fell a few trees; a VC soldier—two days' training plus a solution to the population problem.

The loss of one aircraft or one pilot negates many months' damage to the enemy. And what is the solution given to the pilots? The pilots are briefed to raise their minimum altitudes, bomb from higher up, make fewer passes, drop all at once, back off. The result—missions are refragged [ordered to bomb the same target again] because the target was not destroyed the first time.

Flying safety has become the motto, not destroy the enemy. The pilots are briefed that a loss is not worth the cost, and that violations of theater minimums will result in disciplinary action. Is this the way the pilots were briefed for the Tokyo raids, or the Ploesti attacks? I'll venture a "no" for that. Losses hurt then, maybe more than now, but the aircrews knew that the risk was worth the cost, even if it meant 10 lives in a B-17.

Here in Viet Nam, and in much of the rest of the Air Force, the true professional soldier is dissatisfied with his job. It is not the problem of pay or advancement, but rather the manner in which he feels he is being used.

The students of military strategy, the men who have come here to rain destruction on the enemy by killing and destroying as much as they possibly can during every minute of combat, the men who are seeking a pride in their job, the men who will follow a capable leader to the ends of the earth, and take over for him if need be, these men are leaving the service in ever-increasing numbers.

They are tired of flying their aircraft for minimum effect, tired of being told how "not" to fly their aircraft in combat by people who have less experience than they, tired of belonging to a "Fly Safe" Air Force that has let the purpose of their existence fade into shadow, tired of self-styled experts, such as political appointees, college professors, social do-gooders and college students, trying to dictate basic military policy, and succeeding.

They are sick of a military service that beat the best the German and Japanese armies could throw at them, today too timid to even demand that the winner of a weapons system competition, chosen best by a team of top generals, be the one finally selected, today too timid to even state that the "people's choice" is not necessarily a military leader in theater operations. The men who can see all this are leaving.

Perhaps these men belong to a bygone era. An era where a military force was an entity led by professionals who merely took a general aim from the amateurs on the home front, but conducted their war as they knew it should be. An era where a country had the faith in the military commander to let him fight his war his way, and not afraid of a "military take-over" because his every decision was not given an OK by his civilian counterpart.

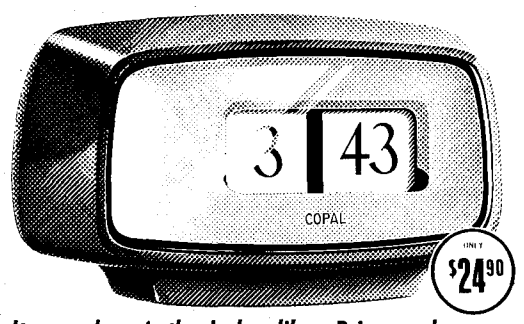
Premier Ky, who has been harshly mocked by several cartoonists and editors, may have an answer. His idea of taking the war to the north has merit. He realizes that only stepping on the fingers of the North Vietnamese (and the Chinese) will merely slow their effort for a time. He knows they will never talk peace while they are still in a position to win, and when you are carrying the battle to the enemy, fighting on his ground, you are the one presently ahead.

One of our former greats, perhaps the best turned out in the modern U.S. military, did it just Ky's way, by carrying the battle to the enemy. He stated, "From the Far East I send you one single thought, one sole idea, written in red on every beachhead from Australia to Tokyo. There is no substitute for victory."

He did not say " . . . the tide is turning."

—Name withheld.

THIS KIND OF CLOCK TELLS A DIFFERENT KIND OF TIME.



It even glows in the dark...like a Princess phone.

Time is just time you say? Well read how this Caslon Clock will change the way you read it.

It is a psychological fact (try it on friends) that when people look away from an ordinary clock (one with hands!), they seldom remember the exact time. They know **about** what time it is. This is because most often you just glance at a clock to orient yourself to the time . . . in relationship to some upcoming moment, date, event or whatever. **But.** When you glance away from this digital timepiece and someone asks you the time: you'll give it exactly. Right to the minute. **"It is 3:43".** That's the difference between seeing all 12 hours at once and this "digital readout" that states the precise time, and **only** the precise time.

The numbers of this plug-in electric clock can be read at a good 50-paces. A silent electric motor flips the plastic plates into view faster than the eye can see. **One second it's 3:43 and then, suddenly, it's 3:44.** Don't worry. The change is silent. Not even a "click".

This improved way of telling time is the **110V Caslon 201 digital electric table clock.** If that sounds like a mouthful you should see it in 3-dimensional color. It's an eyeful. Beautiful, in the modern manner. The console shape is at home with any decor, in any room — or office. You have a choice of four colors (see coupon) to complement your furnishings. But most important, the Caslon 201 tells time in a way you can't mistake — won't forget! It is something of a conversation piece, too. People will stand there staring at it, waiting, trying to catch it changing time. But it is faster than a wink, and quieter than your wristwatch. (The precision synchronous motor is of the hysteresis type — with 18 poles — operating at a low speed to assure even, silent operation and a good long life.)
Dimensions: 5½" x 3½" x 3½"

P.S. A beautiful gift — the kind you'd love to receive.

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526 Washington St., San Francisco, Calif. 94104
Please mail me the 110V Caslon 201 digital electric table clock.
☐ I enclose $24.90 plus $1.00 for Post. & Ins.
Satisfaction or refund guaranteed.
(California Residents Add 4% Sales Tax)
☐ Diner's ☐ Am. Expr. Acct. #__ _____
Underline your color: **Snowwhite Charcoal Red-Red Airline Blue Wheatglo Deep-Night**
Name_____
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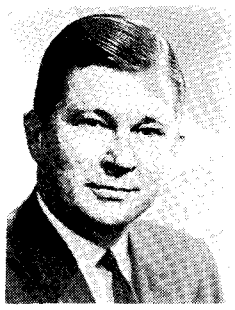

TOWER

Close Race: John Tower vs. Waggoner Carr

The GOP Senator from Texas stands a good chance of pulling an upset victory in LBJ's home state.

CARR

By KEN THOMPSON

Nearly two years ago, when Barry Goldwater, two incumbent Republican congressmen and all but one of the GOP's 90 candidates for the 181-member state legislature went down to defeat in Texas, you couldn't find a gambler between El Paso and the Louisiana border who would take 10-to-1 odds that John Tower could be reelected to the Senate this year.

This assumption was merely strengthened when one recalled that Tower's first election to the Senate in 1961 was something of a fluke. He had beaten Bill Blakley, the conservative millionaire cowboy appointed to fill out the remainder of Lyndon Johnson's Senate term, chiefly because a lot of liberal Democrats went fishing or voted for Tower believing he was the lesser of two evils. Everyone was sure they wouldn't make that mistake again.

And then last year when the Supreme Court invalidated the poll tax and nearly a half-million new voters were registered in Texas, Tower's fate seemed sealed for good. Most of the new voters were Democrats—and liberals, by and large—recruited for the most part by Mexican-American, Negro and labor organizers.

In spite of all this, however, John Tower stands an excellent chance of winning a new six-year term in the Senate next month. It may be close, and few would wager many of their inflated dollars on the outcome, but at this point Tower seems to have a slight edge—and he's gaining momentum as the race approaches the wire.

There are several good reasons for this astonishing resurgence of Tower.

In the first place, Tower is one of the Republican party's most articulate and effective campaigners. His voting record is good as far as the majority of Texans are concerned. For even in his home state, LBJ's ratings are at their lowest ebb right now and his "Great Society" isn't winning any popularity contests.

Tower's opposition to most of the President's domestic programs—especially his leadership in the Senate's blocking of repeal of 14b and his opposition to the 1966 civil rights bill—hasn't damaged his reelection chances one iota.

Only in the area of foreign policy—particularly America's role in Viet Nam—is the President receiving strong support in Texas. And here Tower is giving him as much support as anyone else. In whatever respects he has disagreed with Johnson on Viet Nam, Tower has called for stronger action which would lead to an earlier victory over the enemy. And this is exactly the way a vast majority of his constituents in the Lone Star State—and the American public in general—feel about the war.

In brief, then, Tower is completely in tune with the voters of Texas, and if the election were decided on that basis alone, he wouldn't have anything to worry about. The contest, however, is complicated by the fact that Tower's opponent, State Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr, is also a conservative on most domestic issues and a "hawk" with respect to Viet Nam.

He has accused Tower of being an "extremist" and a spokesman for the "reactionary right," but until the current election he has failed to explain how his principles differ from Tower's. Now that he is electioneering, however, he has tried to woo liberals by suggesting he will support some LBJ domestic programs which are not at all popular with the majority of Texas voters.

This has made it rather difficult for Carr to produce an argument convincing enough to persuade the voters of Texas to send him to Washington as a replacement for Tower.

His chief campaign theme has necessarily been reduced to a single argument: that he as a Democrat, a member of the majority party, could be more "effective" than Tower in the Senate; that he could "do more for Texas," to borrow a shopworn slogan from past campaigns and other states.

This argument isn't swaying too many people in Texas. In the first place, Tower has been remarkably effective, considering the fact that he has been a member of the minority and a first-termer in a Senate where Democrats outnumber Republicans 2 to 1 and seniority usually counts for so much.

During the present session of Congress, 20 bills bearing his name passed the Senate, and he has worked hard and effectively for many programs and measures of particular interest to his state, as well as contributing to the defeat of those which most Texans oppose. His position on the Armed Services Committee—which looks after the vast Texas military installations and contracts—has increased his power and prestige at home. His two trips to Viet Nam this year as a representative of that committee have also enhanced his image.

No one really thinks that Lyndon Johnson needs another Democrat in the Senate. And Texas certainly doesn't need any more "errand boys" on Capitol Hill, either. Even if every one of the GOP's six congressional candidates in the Lone Star State should be elected this year, which is highly improbable, the state would still be represented by 17 Democrats in the House and one, Ralph Yarborough, in the Senate.

Nor could Carr reasonably expect to be very "effective" as a freshman senator with no seniority. It is no secret that he still harbors the dream of sitting in the governor's mansion one day. Many political observers see his Senate bid as merely a stepping stone to that goal, and don't even expect him to serve out a full six-year term in Washington should he defeat Tower next month.

Carr is additionally handicapped by a lack of knowledge, interest and experience in national and world affairs. His entire political career has been limited to state and local service and the pursuit of his ambition to become governor of Texas.

Neither liberals nor conservatives in Texas completely trust Carr; both regard him as an opportunist. The liberals can't help recalling that, not many years ago, he formed an alliance with them to win the support he needed to become speaker of the Texas House of Representatives, then promptly sold them out to join forces with the conservative establishment in Austin.

And conservatives view him with suspicion because, while he talks a pretty conservative line and most of those who know him believe his instincts are conservative, there is good reason to suspect that he would not be permitted to exercise much independence if he were serving in the Senate.

Certainly he would be subject to great pressure from the White House and the Senate's Democratic majority to go along with LBJ's highly liberal domestic programs. If Carr wins, he will owe at least part of his victory to Lyndon. LBJ has already lent some behind-the-door arm-twisting to aid Carr's cause. Not too long ago the President, along with Gov. John Connally, concocted a gimmick to make Carr the first state candidate in history to receive exclusive financial benefit from a Democratic party fund-raising dinner—a tactic that has not sat well with many incumbent Democrats.

In August of this year it was revealed that the LBJ-appointed chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission had been sending out on official government stationery—apparently franked at taxpayer's expense—letters to Texans urging them to back Carr. Post Office spokesmen said at the time that the "use of the frank by executive branch officials for private or political mail carries a $300 fine."

As it turned out, Maritime chieftain John Harllee, who sent the letter, was not even a registered Texas voter. Originally appointed by Kennedy and reappointed to his post last year by LBJ, Harllee also happens to be a cousin of Elizabeth Carpenter, Mrs. Johnson's press secretary.

And, in fact, *The Texas Observer,* the voice of liberal Democrats, has noted that Carr "would be somewhat subject to Johnsonian pressure of liberal domestic reforms. This is what Carr is telling us when he speaks favorably of the 'War on Poverty.'" Carr has also spoken out in favor of such LBJ legislation as the proposal to eliminate the investment tax credit for businesses.

A few months ago LBJ brought him to Washington for a conference with the leaders of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE). Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported that, while Carr balked at a pledge to support repeal of 14b, he promised to vote for most other "Great Society" measures if elected to the Senate.

Despite Carr's attempts to pacify the liberals, however, an open rebellion against him has broken out in their ranks. The Texas AFL-CIO refused to endorse him, as did the politically potent PASO (Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations). Sen. Yarborough, while saying that he planned to vote for Carr, pointedly refused to give him any assistance or active support in the campaign. And only recently, liberals boycotted a testimonial dinner for Carr and, in another slap at Carr, walked out of the Democratic state convention in protest over a ruling by the Connally forces.

Those who took a walk overwhelmingly approved this statement: "It is no breach of party loyalty for any Democrat to vote against Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr and cast his vote for John Tower as U.S. senator from Texas." Certainly many other liberals who were not there will go along with this sentiment.

This liberal opposition to Carr is not based upon the view that he is in any sense more conservative than Tower, nor on the premise that Tower will "pull a Lindsay" in exchange for liberal support. Rather, like 1961, it is another protest against the moderate conservatives' control of the Texas Democratic party. The liberals want their type of victory— or no victory at all.

At this stage in the campaign the revolt of the liberals could spell the difference in the state election. By conservative estimates, the liberals comprise some 15 per cent of the electorate in Texas—or nearly 500,000 voters. Carr is counting on a big voter turn-out and the active support of the liberals to win. If enough of them switch to Tower—or simply go fishing—Texas will have witnessed two political miracles in five years: the election and the re-election of the first Republican senator in the Lone Star State's history.

Mr. Thompson, associate editor of the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, *was for several years an editorial writer and columnist for the Dallas* Morning News.

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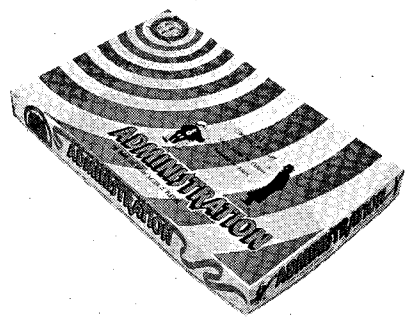

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Harold Howe: Enemy of Neighborhood Schools

A 6-foot, 200-pound former Yale hockey player has rapidly developed into a major campaign issue for the Republicans. He is Harold Howe II, the 47-year-old U.S. commissioner of education who has launched a zealous crusade to destroy the neighborhood school system as we know it today.

In Howe's controversial view, that system is obsolete and has prevented the United States from achieving a network of schools which have the "proper cultural mix" of ethnic and racial groups. Schools without this proper mix, according to Howe, are just not educating students in the best manner.

To succeed in his goal, Howe has offered a variety of solutions, including bussing of students and the development of educational parks.

Howe's ideas on education have earned him such pet names as the "Commissar of Education" and the "Commissioner of Integration." While he has generally been lambasted from coast to coast by Republicans, he has also been on the end of stinging attacks by Democrats.

Rep. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, has accused Howe of talking "like a Communist." Rep. Wayne Hays, a liberal Democrat from Ohio, recently said: "Another member of the House recently called Commissioner Howe an idiot. I would not call him that. Howe knows exactly what he is doing. He is out to destroy the school system in the United States. This country would be far better off if he resigned."

The outbursts against Howe derive from a series of his speeches and an education bill drafted by his Office of Education. So controversial have Howe's statements been that the education office recently suppressed distribution of 52,000 copies of *The Human Frontier,* a pamphlet containing four of his speeches.

While the Office of Education flatly refused to permit us to look at a copy of this booklet, *Human Events* did manage to obtain one through a congressman's office. Here are just a few of the quotes from this document (pp. 18 and 19) which the Office of Education, understandably, does not want distributed before the election:

"In addition to more and better teachers, slum schools need volunteers. . . . But I believe that more drastic measures will be needed over the long run.

"For example, traditional school district boundaries often serve education badly and may have to be changed. New York and New Jersey surrendered state prerogatives to form the Port of New York Authority in the interest of improved transportation. If we can make such concessions for transportation, I suggest that we can make them for education.

Liberal Democratic Rep. Wayne Hays (Ohio) has said of Howe: "He is out to destroy the school system in the United States. This country would be far better off if he resigned."

"We could, for example, alter political boundaries to bring social, economic and intellectual strength of the suburbs to bear on the problems of the city schools. Building programs for the future could be planned so that new schools would break up, rather than continue, segregation of both the racial and economic sort. The Office of Education will provide federal planning funds for such efforts right now and, if I have my way, the office will provide construction funds before long.

"We have recently been considering financial support for a comprehensive study of a system of educational parks to be established within the inner city. We visualize each of these centralized school complexes as educational centers that would provide classes ranging from pre-kindergarten through junior college.

"And we are particularly interested in finding one or two great American cities that are adventurous enough to join us in planning the educational parks

Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) discovered the radical proposals Howe's office planned to include in a 1967 education bill.

of the future. These entities will house 20,000 or more pupils and will cut across all geographic, economic and social boundaries to draw students.

"While such a park would deny the neighborhood school, it would express the vitality, imagination and the cultural mix that every city exemplifies. . . .

"Altering political boundaries or consolidating the educational facilities of a large city would involve major organizational changes—major educational surgery. But I believe that major surgery is required if we are to liberate the children of slums."

Howe says he does not condone violence, but he also scornfully denounces the "gradualist, both white and Negro, a polite and sometimes sluggish team, deeply respectful of the public and sometimes given to assuring each other that it is possible to make an omelette without breaking eggs." (p. 23)

The Supreme Court has never ruled that *de facto* segregation is illegal. It has only ruled that compulsory separation of the races through use of state police powers is against the law.

Nevertheless, Howe insists that the "laws of this land . . . beckon every one of us, calling on us to recognize that desegregating the schools is our

The government has held up pre-election distribution of booklet expounding the views of Harold Howe, U.S. commissioner of education.

legal responsibility, that it will not be easy to work, and that it is futile to expect the years to erode those passions that today make the processes of desegregation unpopular. Gradualism – no matter what we call it—has failed, and I think it is fair to say that those who continue to espouse it are fooling themselves and in many ways, failing our nation." (p. 33)

Elaborating on his plans to break down *de facto* segregation, Howe says: "You are as familiar as I with some of the ideas that have been proposed to desegregate the schools: pairing plans that provide faculty and student exchanges between predominantly white and Negro schools; bussing to alter the racial composition of schools in different parts of a community; educational parks that might have as many as 20,000 students drawn from every racial, economic and geographic sector of a city, supplementary centers for the special enrichment of education which bring together young people from different sides of the track for a common denominator of learnings." (p. 36)

"The broad position we must all assume on this matter [*de facto* segregation] comprises two equally important policies. One cannot work without the other. The first is to make the schools of the central city such good schools that they attract people rather than repel them. The second is to use every possible device to include within each school a cross-section of the social and economic backgrounds of the metropolis." (pp. 37 and 38)

"Building programs for the future," says Howe, "should be planned so that new schools break up rather than continue segregation . . . . Moreover, within the creating of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development, there is a new federal tool to help education in the attack on *de facto* segregation. Planning for new land use and for housing patterns in the city must go hand in hand with planning for education." (p. 8)

In order to improve education, Howe would also get the federal government into the business of writing textbooks.

"The next generation of citizens," says Howe, "should not graduate from our high schools without having confronted—through serious study and in depth—the issues which confront this society in the realm of segregation and civil rights. Efforts to get this subject into the classroom must originate with states and localities, for we cannot and should not set curriculum from the Office of Education. *But* [emphasis added] we can provide research funds to start responsible efforts on curriculum development so that 18-year-olds shall not enter adult life without an understanding of the stresses and problems of this society." (pp. 8 and 9)

Howe would also transform the local school into the hub of a federally controlled community. "We must," he says, "change inner-city schools from nine-to-three o'clock citadels where all human life vanishes with the dismissal of the bell, into highly visible neighborhood resources that teach parents as well as children." (p. 17)

This inner-city school, which Howe believes should ideally be controlled through HUD, federally written texts and federal aid to schools, "must create a community where there is no other focal point for a common life and shared interests. We must staff our ghetto schools so that they can remain open from morning to late evening offering adult instruction in everything from reading to making the most of the shopping dollar." (p. 17)

That Howe's words are not the idle dreams of a bureaucrat was dramatically revealed on September 14 when Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) bared a proposed education bill for 1967 drawn up by the Office of Education.

As revealed in *Human Events* on September 24, this bill would establish a multi-billion-dollar effort to force racial balance in the nation's schools. Among the techniques proposed for compelling a racial balance in the schools:

"Comprehensive, district-wide rezoning of school attendance areas to obtain maximum heterogeneity"; "Pairing, grouping, or clustering of adjacent Negro and white schools . . . in two or more residential areas"; "Reorganization of the use of schools; reorganizing the grades of a school; converting schools to other uses; closing schools, changing feeder patterns, grade pattern reorganization."

And, "Careful site selection to locate new schools so as to maximize integration of residentially segregated student populations"; "Increased bussing from overcrowded to under-utilized schools"; "Suburban-Inner City pupil exchanges"; "Development of new curricular materials, particularly those including proper representation of racial and religious minorities."

Such are the reasons that Harold Howe II has become one of the Nation's most controversial bureaucrats.

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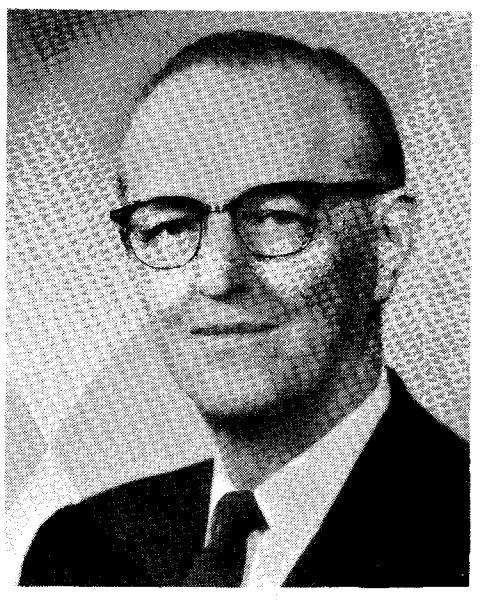
Asian Speakers Bureau Adds 14 More Experts

By the Rev. Daniel Lyons, S.J., in *Our Sunday Visitor*

Early last fall the Asian Speakers Bureau was formed. Our purpose was to lecture on Asia throughout the United States and Canada. Half the world lives in Asia, yet it is so little known in America.

When Dr. Stephen Pan and I first decided to form the bureau, Archbishop Paul YuPin gave his enthusiastic support. The archbishop, who is in exile from Nanking, arranged with my superiors to have me loaned to him and placed offices at our disposal in his residence at 86 Riverside Drive, New York City.



Former Rep. Walter Judd (R.-Minn.) is one of most highly respected authorities on China today.

We knew that the struggle for Southeast Asia would be won or lost in the United States. We realized that mainland China, with one-fourth of the world's population, had been lost mainly because of the cold war successes of the Communists in this country.

Without their propaganda victories, without friends such as those in charge of the Institute of Pacific Relations in the United States, Mao Tse-tung would never have achieved his military successes. The current war seems limited to Viet Nam, but it exists wherever newspapers are printed, wherever there are radios or TV.

The Asian Speakers Bureau was first publicized through *Our Sunday Visitor*. Since then we have given hundreds of lectures across the country. Many of them were arranged by *OSV* readers, and we found *OSV* readers wherever we went.

Last year we had 12 speakers on the bureau. Nine of these are back with us again. In addition to Dr. Pan and myself, there are Dr. Stefan Possony of Stanford, Father Raymond de Jaegher, Maj. Gen. Thomas Lane (Ret.), Brig. Gen. Clyde Watts (Ret.), Dr. Robert Morris, Dr. Anthony Bouscaren and Dr. Anthony Kubek.

Because of the increasing demand for our speakers, particularly on college campuses, we have added 14 new lecturers to the bureau.

• Our new list of speakers includes Dr. David Rowe of Yale University. Dr. Rowe was born and raised in Nanking. He has taught at Harvard, Princeton, Michigan, the National War College and the Canadian National Defense College. He is a distinguished scholar, author and lecturer.

• Another new speaker is Dr. Seong Hi Yim of Korea. He studied at Chungang University in Seoul, where he later served as president. He did doctoral work at Pennsylvania, Chicago, Heidelberg and Cologne. Dr. Yim, who served in the Korean Cabinet as minister of public information, has written extensively about Korea.

• Dr. Walter Judd is a welcome addition to our speakers' roster. After practicing medicine in China for many years, he was 10 times elected to the U. S. Congress. His Republican colleagues voted him the congressman they "most admired." Dr. Judd, along with Sen. Dodd, is heard daily on 1,200 radio stations on the "Washington Report."

• Dr. Hasan Muhammad di Tiro is our expert on Indonesia. He holds degrees from Fordham and Columbia Universities. Dr. Hasan di Tiro served as ambassador to the United Nations from 1958 to 1960. He was among the first to oppose the Sukarno dictatorship. His books have had considerable influence in the Malay world.

• Mr. Duane Thorin is the managing editor of the U.S. Press Association. During the Korean War he was a prisoner of the Communists for 19 months. His writings are used by the armed forces for their code of conduct training.

• Dr. Woosang Choi is a law school graduate of Seoul National University. He did postgraduate work at Georgetown and Harvard and has served his country in various diplomatic positions. He has twice been a delegate to the U.N. General Assembly.

• Mr. Paul Sithi-Amnuai is our expert on Thailand. He is vice-president of the Bangkok Bank in New York, columnist for the Bangkok *Post*, and a freelance writer whose articles appear internationally. He has served as economic advisor to the United Nations, to AID in Tunisia, and to the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

• Mr. Eugene Lyons is the distinguished senior editor of the *Reader's Digest*. A former reporter and foreign correspondent, he reads Russian fluently. His books on the USSR, where he lived for many years, have been among the best ever written on that country.

• The Rev. Calvin Thielman, a Presbyterian minister, is chaplain at Montreal-Anderson College in North Carolina. A former research assistant to Billy Graham, he was sent twice last year by the federal government to Viet Nam, once as a journalist and later to report on civilian relief.

• Mr. Eric Chou, a noted author and journalist living in London, was born in Mukden, China, where he was graduated with honors from Peking Normal University. He served as personal interpreter for Red China's foreign minister, Chou En-lai. Mr. Chou turned against communism, and was imprisoned and brainwashed for several years. His book, *A Man Must Choose*, has been translated into nine languages.

• Msgr. Nicholas Mondejar, a native of the Philippines, is director of the Philippine Catholic Missions for the United States. For three years he was a guerrilla fighter against the Japanese. He is an expert on the role of the Philippines in Southeast Asia.

• Dr. You-Chan Yang is ambassador-at-large of the Republic of Korea. He is a graduate of Harvard Medical School, and has served for many years as chief or alternate chief delegate to the U.N. General Assembly.

• Miss Philippa Schuyler, daughter of the noted Negro publisher, is a graduate of Manhattanville College. She has traveled to 75 countries as a journalist, lecturer and concert pianist. The author of several books, she is especially qualified to speak on Africa.

• The Rev. Richard Wurmbrand, a Lutheran minister, is a refugee from Rumania. He was imprisoned for 14 years by the Communists. Listening to this man, who has suffered so much for the Christian faith, is perhaps the closest thing one can experience to hearing St. Paul.

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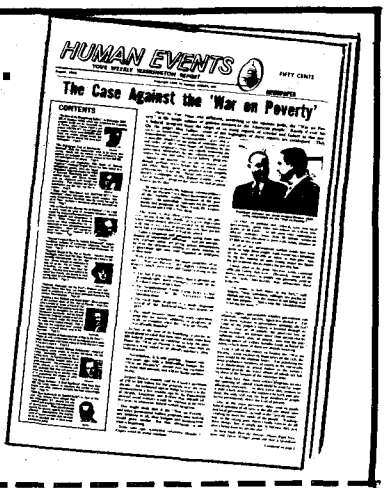

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

LBJ Hypocrisy

By REP. BOB WILSON (R.-Calif.)

How hypocritical can this Administration get? On September 12 the President sternly vetoed an overdue measure to increase life insurance coverage for federal employes on the ground that the additional $90 million a year it would cost would be inflationary. Then the President turned right around and put on the heat to pass a political $1.75-billion poverty bill and followed that by demands to get going on a multi-billion-dollar demonstration cities program to federalize blockbusting in the suburbs of our metropolitan areas.

Civil service employes can draw their own conclusion. When it is a matter of elementary justice to them, it is inflation—but when it comes to massive vote-buying projects it is noble statesmanship. I repeat: How hypocritical can this Administration get?

Perils of the Season

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S. C.)

Each day it becomes more apparent that decisions on national affairs are being heavily influenced by their anticipated political impact. Public opinion must and should be a factor in the decision-making process of government, for it is an important element in the functioning of a self-governing society. This is no justification, however, for manipulation, deception, withholding of information from the public or for last-minute grandstand plays with governmental action tailored expressly for impact in the political season.

Federal Recruiters

By REP. EDWARD GURNEY (R.-Fla.)

In these days of increased federal involvement in nearly every sector of public and private life, it is not surprising that another activity of private enterprise should be threatened by the reaching arms of the federal bureaucracy. This time it is the recruitment and hiring of employes.

There is no doubt that the U.S. Employment Service could stand some improving, but the language of the Manpower Services Act of 1966, which is before my own Committee on Education and Labor, threatens to do much more than modernize and improve. It sets up mechanism to allow the federal government to recruit and place in different jobs those workers who are already employed. This is not the purpose of the Employment Service, which was set up to help those workers who are unemployed.

Double Discrimination

By REP. MELVIN LAIRD (R.-Wis.)

Under White House pressure the House of Representatives, with its 2-to-1 Democratic party majority, has passed a $3.5-billion foreign aid authorization bill with provisions for foreign nations to borrow and use American taxpayers' money at rock-bottom interest rates of 1 per cent. These additional foreign aid handouts with such attractive interest rates are even more shocking in view of the fact that the Johnson Administration's spending policies have saddled the American taxpayers with the highest interest rates in the last 40 years. Americans are the victims of double economic discrimination practiced by the Johnson Administration.

Poverty Pleaders

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

During consideration of the poverty bill, poverty program officials dispatched employes to Washington to put pressure on members of Congress. Rep. William Ayres (R.-Ohio) said five poverty program employes were sent from his home city of Akron and paid $16 per day each out of poverty funds, plus 20¢ per mile for the car they used, to make the trip to Washington to lobby for the bill.

Ayres said that because it was raining when night came, the Akron contingent decided not to drive home and sought rooms in a Washington hotel. Since they had no baggage, the hotel manager wanted a guarantee that the hotel bill would be paid. Poverty officials in Akron were contacted and they agreed to also pay the hotel.

So you, Mr. and Mrs. Taxpayer, have the pleasure of paying for the lobbying trip, including the hotel bills of at least the Akron, Ohio, contingent. And remember, these people were paid with your dollars to lobby for more money for themselves as well as their bosses who are running the "poverty" show.

Power Grab

By REP. PAUL FINO (R.-N.Y.)

What I dislike about the Administration's urban legislation, specifically the "Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966" is that it is nothing but a vehicle of federal control. It sets up no new programs, but merely ties old ones together into a vehicle for control aimed at imposing federal social standards on our cities. This I am against. I want to give cities carrots, but not ones with fishhooks. The money promised by "demonstration cities" is not going to do a job $96 billion hasn't done in the last 10 years.

NATO Troops

By SEN. JAMES PEARSON (R.-Kan.)

If, in fact, it is the case that the present level of American military forces in Western Europe is necessary to resist Communist expansion in that part of the world, or if this force is necessary to assure political stability within Western Europe, then the future of the free world is bleak indeed. If the Western European community, with its great economic and technological power is unable to provide the necessary conventional military force, or if the Western Europeans cannot yet achieve the degree of political union that is needed to resist Soviet pressures, then there is little hope that we will ever be able to successfully resist the spread of communism in other parts of the world. If it is still necessary in the 1960s to maintain five to six combat divisions in Western Europe, how many more divisions will we have to maintain in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and for how many more decades?

No Easy Victory

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

The concept of victory without pain, prosperity without work, luxury without effort, something for nothing, is unrealistic. The thought is wonderful, but is an illusion—an adolescent dream. The America we know—and want—and love—does not, cannot, and will not live on unreality. There seems to be a growing awareness of this fact; perhaps it has been revealed by the war and the progressively increasing inflation and cost of living.

A Way of Life

By REP. JOHN ERLENBORN (R.-Ill.)

Last winter and spring, when city people were making their fears about inflation heard, Secretary of Agriculture Freeman blamed high food prices on the farmers, in spite of the fact that few farm prices were then at parity. On the other hand, Secretary Freeman asserted that sales of government-owned corn were not depressing corn and hog prices last winter —insisted on this until Gardner Ackley, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers told a TV interviewer: " . . . I mentioned the fact that increases in supplies of pork depend on the difference between the price of hogs and the price of corn, and we're trying to hold down the price of corn. The government has acquired large stocks of corn in its past price-support operation. Now we're releasing them into the market." I'm sorry to say that manipulation of farm commodity markets to maintain low prices and, at the same time, to maintain government control of American agriculture has become a way of life for the Department of Agriculture.

Needed: More Control Over IRS

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

The "power of the purse" and control of public money is admittedly great. But the power to tax is greater.

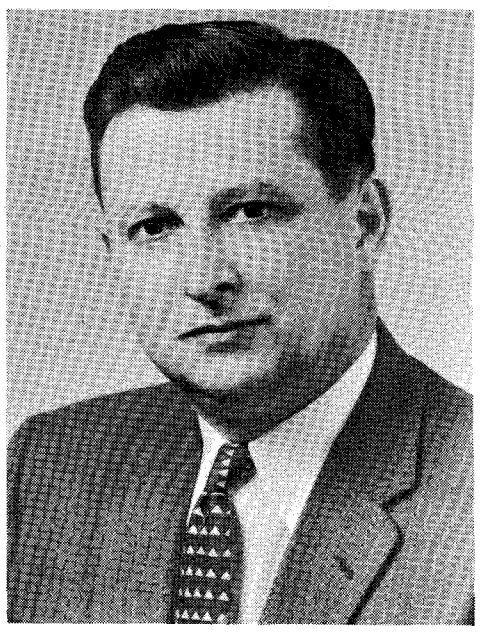
The taxing power makes the Internal Revenue Service one of the most powerful agencies of the United States government—and potentially one of the most dangerous.

Congress found long ago that it is impossible to write tax laws in such detail that every tax situation and a prescribed manner of handling it is spelled out in the law. So the Internal Revenue Service is granted vast discretionary powers which could be perverted and misused.

There is some present concern over the manner in which IRS uses its power. For example, some feel that the recent decision by Internal Revenue to review the tax-exempt status of the Sierra Club came very close to coercion. In the midst of the club's public relations campaign in opposition to construction of the ill-advised dams on the Colorado River, the Internal Revenue Service, prompted by supporters of the plan to build the dams, decided to investigate the club's tax-exempt status. If this is not coercion, then it is certainly a classic example of bad public relations timing.

I have introduced legislation to require the Internal Revenue Service to apply the ruling of tax cases they lose in the courts or appeal within a reasonable time. As matters stand now, IRS can force each taxpayer to go to court in his own right to prove the same point which the courts have already ruled upon. In opposing my bill, IRS has made some interesting statements. In 1960 an assistant to the secretary of the treasury said: "To assume, as the bill seems to do, that in all instances courts will reach a more equitable and correct result than the commissioner is unrealistic and unreasonable."

Though the assistant secretary probably did not intend it, this sounds amazingly like a desire to place the Internal Revenue Service above and beyond our judicial system.



Rep. Charles Gubser (R.-Calif.) has some constructive suggestions regarding the Internal Revenue Service.

Later in the same report the secretary said: "It would appear unwise to upset the established hierarchy among court decisions and to confer on decisions of lower federal courts the same binding effect as decisions of the Supreme Court." This is a curious interpretation of our judicial system. Isn't any court decision binding on the persons affected until it is reversed? Why should the Internal Revenue Service be the exception?

Mutual funds are traded in the market under two quotations—the "bid" and "ask" prices. This means that to buy, one must pay a higher price, usually 8 or 9 per cent, above what he can receive if he wishes to sell his shares. Yet the Internal Revenue Service insists upon levying inheritance taxes based upon the higher price, even though the individual who inherits the shares has no chance of selling them for that amount.

Under its broad powers of interpretation, IRS could penalize any group for holding a political or social point of view by denying tax exemption. This is a power which is so great that it must be watched—and watched carefully!

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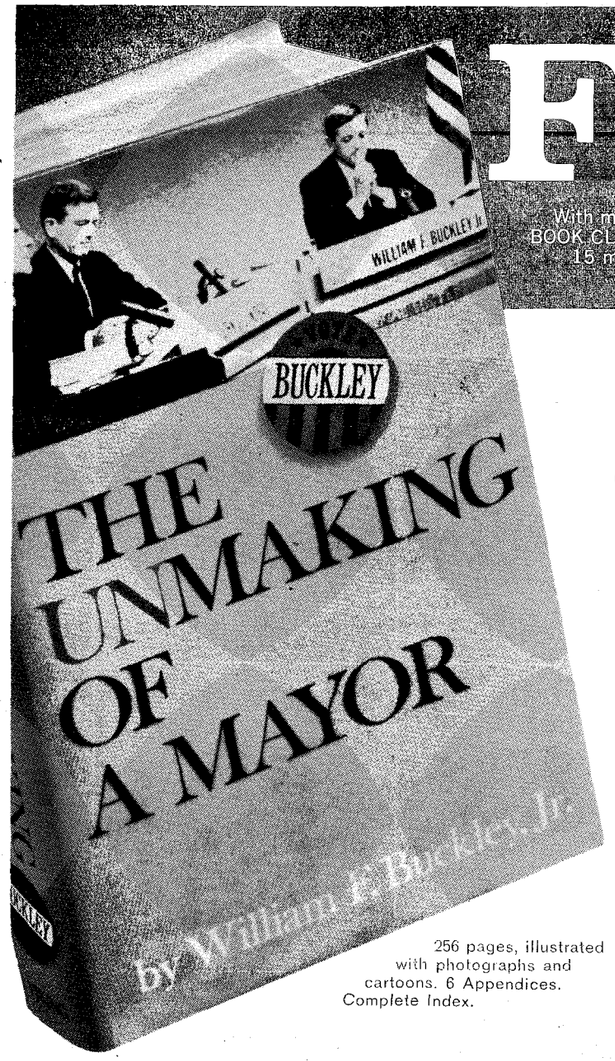

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY'S THE UNMAKING OF A MAYOR

"James Baldwin told me the other day that he does not blame the residents of Harlem for throwing garbage out of their windows, that that is their form of protest. Would we, by the same token, be entitled to throw our garbage out the window when John Lindsay passes by?"

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

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It was a campaign to remember! New York was America's mecca for talent and money and dreams; New York was — and certainly still is — America's sickest city; New York was thought to be John Lindsay's launching pad for the White House. Then along came Bill Buckley... and, though John Lindsay squeaked into City Hall, this may be the last stop.

Buckley's Position Papers — Vital Reading for Every American

Conservatives can't make a dent in the big cities, right? Wrong. Buckley stood up to two massive political machines and polled more than a third of a million votes. He ran a campaign that mingled style and wit and hard political realities. His ten position papers — on welfare, education, water, money and fiscal policy, crime, housing, pollution, taxes, transit, narcotics — stand as a breakthrough in conservative politics. Reprinted here in full (along with Mr. Buckley's disarming post-election comments on where he *thinks he may have erred*), *these position* papers offer priceless guidance for anyone from a Presidential candidate to somebody running for library trustee... guidance on how to translate high principles into homely issues every voter is worried about.

But if Buckley added a serious note to the campaign, he also made it fun. Emerging from an off-the-record luncheon with New York *Times* editors, Buckley was asked jocularly by NBC's Gabe Pressman how he felt on leaving the Times Building. "As though I had just passed through the Berlin Wall," shot back WFB. "What is the first thing you would do if elected?" Pressman asked. "Hang a *net outside the window of the editor*," said Buckley.

Smear Tactics, Lindsay Style

Buckley documents the cynicism and hypocrisy with which the Lindsay team cried out against hate mongering while their aides were busy fanning the flames of ethnic hatreds wherever they thought it would get them some votes. The author reproduces a tape-recorded conversation on which one of Lindsay's top Liberal henchman used the vilest language imaginable in making general reference to Irish New Yorkers. And there is a fascinating exchange between Buckley and Democratic candidate Abe Beame, who ultimately submitted to an inner decency and whispered an *apology* for his role in the smear attempt against Buckley.

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sparks from the Buckley typewriter

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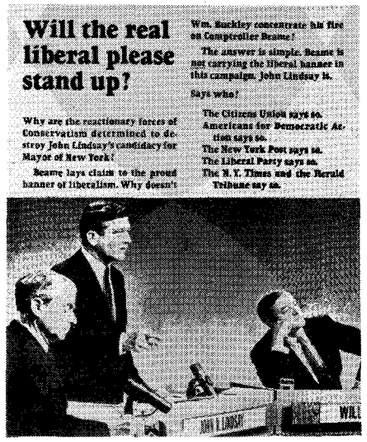
Will the real liberal please stand up?
Wm. Buckley concentrate his fire on Comptroller Beame!
The answer is simple. Beame is not carrying the liberal banner in this campaign. John Lindsay is.
Says who?
The Citizens Union says so.
Americans for Democratic Action says so.
The New York Post says so.
The Liberal Party says so.
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Why are the reactionary forces of Conservatism determined to destroy John Lindsay's candidacy for Mayor of New York?
Beame lays claim to the proud banner of liberalism. Why doesn't

New York Herald Tribune
The real one **is** standing up.

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The candidate relaxes at home with his beautiful wife Patricia.

New York Daily News Photo
With running mates Rosemary Gunning and Hugh Markey.

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